America

May 28, 1949 Vol. 81, Number 8

A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

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THE ORIENT

No room to live in Japan

The aftermath of the drive for cannon fodder RICHARD L.-G. DEVERALL

WASHINGTON

Streamlining the Federal Government

Ex-President Hoover would trim off some useless chromium EDWARD G. MISEY

ROME

Pius XII speaks to Catholic employers

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CONTENTS

America, May 28, 1949

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295

Current Comment 273 Washington Front..Wilfrid Parsons 277 Editorials 278 DP's in the sugar cane New hope for a free Germany Spain at Lake Success Congress and the budget Peter Maurin, R. I. P. Articles Streamlining the Federal Government 281 Edward G. Misey No room to live in Japan..... 284 Richard L.-G. Deverall Pius XII talks to Catholic employers 287 Benjamin L. Masse Literature and Arts..... 290 Hollywood letter Phil A. Koury BooksReviewed by History of the Primitive Church. John J. Healy, S.J. Passion of the Infant Christ..... 292 Clifford M. Lewis, S.J. I Wanted to Write..... T. J. M. Burke Most Reverend Francis Patrick

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American Government Under the

Leave It to the People.................. John Meng

The WordJoseph A. Breig 297

Films Moira Walsh 297

Theatre Theophilus Lewis 298

ParadeJohn A. Toomey 299

Correspondence 300

New Day ...

Constitution Paul G. Steinbicker

James Bernard Kelley

ii

Free speech in Chicago

273

277

278

281

287

290

291

292

292

292

293

293

294

95

ay w.

n-0; ss ce of A

The Terminiello case, decided by the U.S. Supreme Court on May 16, obviously involved very controversial issues. The Rev. Arthur W. Terminiello, then suspended but since restored to good standing as a priest of the Mobile diocese, was accused of violating a Chicago ordinance in addressing a meeting sponsored by the Christian Veterans of America in the Chicago Auditorium on February 7, 1946. Gerald L. K. Smith had invited him to speak. The priest was accused of preaching "hatred of the New Deal," of charging Mrs. Roosevelt with being a Communist, and preaching "contempt for England" and "hatred for the Jews." According to the Illinois Supreme Court, 1,000 people stood outside the hall, and the air was "filled with shouts and noisy chanting, property was destroyed, brickbats and stench bombs were thrown at the auditorium, and both private individuals and police were assaulted." The Chicago city ordinance under which the accused was convicted and fined \$100

All persons who shall make, aid, countenance, or assist in making any improper noise, riot, disturbance, breach of the peace, or diversion tending to a breach of the peace, within the limits of the city . . . shall be deemed guilty of disorderly conduct.

The five-to-four Supreme Court decision reversing the Illinois courts turned on the trial judge's instructions to the jury in the court of first instance. In defining "breach of the peace," the trial judge included such utterance as "stirs the public to anger, invites dispute, brings about a condition of unrest, or creates a disturbance." Mr. Justice Douglas, speaking for the majority, declared: "A conviction resting on any of those grounds may not stand." Justices Black, Murphy, Rutledge and Reed took the same view. Justice Reed, one may recall, was the sole dissenter in the McCollum case and is the most detached member of the Court in his judgments. Chief Justice Vinson and Justices Jackson, Frankfurter and Burton voted to uphold the conviction. Their main objection was technical: counsel for the accused had never once complained of the trial judge's instruction. The Supreme Court, therefore, had no business introducing it as a new issue. When the full record of the decision reaches us, we may comment further on this case. At the moment, we think other means of maintaining public order should be found than attributing breaches of the peace to a speaker's name-calling.

Trial of the Communists

On May 27 the trial of the eleven communist leaders in Federal Court in New York will enter its twentieth week. Charged with teaching and advocating the violent overthrow of the Government, the defendants have succeeded in protracting the trial beyond all reasonable limits. If they have their way, which patient, long-suffering Judge Medina will not permit them to do, the proceedings will continue for years. This explains the time-consuming tactics of defense counsel. It explains also the unsconscionable effort to bring about a mistrial, either by ruining the health of the presiding judge and forcing

CURRENT COMMENT

him to withdraw, or by goading him into some intemperate action that would lay the basis for a record of reversible errors. In either case the jury would have to be dismissed and the whole long process of organizing a trial repeated. The surprise of the case so far has been the revelation that a number of FBI undercover agents have infiltrated the Party and even achieved positions of some responsibility. Their testimony has been especially damaging to communist contentions that the Party is not ruled from abroad and does not advocate the violent overthrow of the Government, Several of them confirmed what has long been known in labor circles, namely, that the Party constantly schemes to gain control of trade unions, especially those in strategic industries. Without such control the only way the Communists can gain power in an industrialized country is through the intervention of the Red Army.

Bipartisan support for national FEPC

Fair employment practice is not a party issue. At the House hearings on the FEPC bill, Republicans joined with Democrats in urging its passage. Senator Irving M. Ives (R., N. Y.) declared it was up to the majority to get the bill on the calendar but that both Republicans and Democrats must fight side by side for its passage. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) said the precedent of collaboration set by the major political parties during wartime could effectively be carried over into the field of civil rights at home. "If this bill is beaten," said Mr. Humphrey, "it will not be our Southern colleagues who are to blame. It will be the indifference, apathy and, at times, the politics of our Northern, Eastern and Western brethren." Bipartisan testimony is steadily accumulating from every part of the country showing the practical workableness of FEPC legislation. Thirtytwo States already have statutes barring discrimination in public employment, chiefly where religion is involved. Ten others have FEPC laws. Twenty-three State legislatures considered FEPC legislation this year. In the words of Charles Houston, "Congress is not pioneering here, but just trying to catch up with the rest of America." Effective FEPC laws have been enacted in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Washington, Oregon, New Mexico and Rhode Island; "weak" ones, deficient in enforcement provisions, in Indiana and Wisconsin. After congressional advocates, leaders in

every walk of American life appeared before the House subcommittee to testify for the bill. Among the clergymen who spoke in its behalf was Very Rev. Msgr. John J. McClafferty, Dean of the National School of Social Service, Catholic University of America, who discussed the urgent moral aspects of fair employment practice. Divisions of every kind should be forgotten in the effort to bring to fulfillment this most necessary piece of national legislation.

Moves against discrimination

Equality of opportunity for all men in service, "without regard to race, color, religion or national origin," has been decreed for all our armed forces by Louis Johnson, Secretary of Defense. W. Stuart Symington, Secretary of the Air Force, has already written to Secretary Johnson that the directive will be put into effect. The all-Negro 332d Fighter Wing will be disbanded, and its 2,000 men and officers distributed through the service in non-segregated units. A May 25 deadline was set for similar replies by the Army and Navy. Rejection by the armed services of a discriminatory policy points up the inconsistency of such a policy in the field of civilian job opportunity. Need of nation-wide action against employment discrimination was indicated in Washington on May 12 when a House subcommittee, now considering the Administration's Fair Employment Practice bill, ordered the appearance of five major railroad unions to answer the charge that they bar from union membership Negroes, Mexican-Americans and Japanese-Americans. Even during the two world wars, said Charles Houston, former member of the wartime FEPC and head of the national legal committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, when the nation's safety was at stake, the unions refused to permit Negroes to take jobs. Merely local measures cannot deal with such abuses in the railroads, or in any other nationwide industry, as was brought out in the 1944 hearings. In the present hearings, Representative Harry J. Davenport, Democrat, of Philadelphia, observed that a national act was necessary so that all industry could begin operating under the same code of non-discriminatory employment. To continue the present state of uncertainty of employment opportunity for millions of able-bodied and able-minded Americans is as impractical and wasteful in industry as it is now seen to be in the armed services of the nation.

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Catholic leadership in the South

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Race relations, problems of labor and management, displaced persons on Louisiana farms, education, the minimum-wage law, the fight against communism-these were some of the topics discussed at the annual convention of the Catholic Committee of the South held in Lexington, Ky., May 12-13. The Committee by no means takes the stand that the South's problems begin and end with relations between whites and Negroes; they widen their scope to embrace its whole economy and social structure. The Committee called upon Catholic schools to take the lead in eliminating the system of segregation in Southern schools-a system based on the "separate and equal" formula, with more emphasis on separation than equality. The race-relations workshop, presided over by Msgr. T. James McNamara of Savannah, asked for admission of qualified persons, regardless of race, to graduate schools, medical and professional and nursing schools, and hospital and nursing staffs. After talks on "Economic Democracy" by U. S. Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin, Rev. Raymond A. McGowan of the Social Action Department, NCWC, and John Yancey of Chicago, CIO leader, the convention went on record in favor of a 75-cent minimum wage, and condemned the attitude of some Southern industrialists who would "protect their freedom to make profits at the expense of the Southern worker's standard of living." In a paper read to the Committee, George K. Hunton, secretary of the New York Catholic Interracial Council, said that Catholics should come off the defensive vis-à-vis communism and counter its propaganda with a positive program of their own. "In contrast to the resources of the Catholic potential," he stated, "communism shrinks into relative insignificance."

For the ten or twelve communist schools, we have over 2,000 Catholic high schools, 240 colleges and universities. As against the 70,000 Communists in the United States, there are more than 100,000 Catholic educators and teachers and more than 400,000 Catholic lay men and women—graduates of Catholic colleges. These men and women are equipped with the finest educational training and possess sound principles that may be openly expressed.

The Committee's annual race-relations award was presented to Bishop Gerald O'Hara of Savannah-Atlanta by Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans, episcopal chairman of the CCS.

New approach to labor law

Arthur Stark, veteran labor reporter, has added his voice to the modest chorus calling for labor-management teamwork in writing a labor law. In the New Leader for May 14 he recalls the instructive story of how the Railway Labor Act found its way onto the nation's law books. Prior to 1926, labor-management relations on the rails were bad. They were so bad that the more reasonable people on both sides became frightened. From a continuation of the "cat and dog" fight they saw only one possible result—government dictation of the terms of the labor contract. They sat down together, talked things over, compromised long-standing differences. From those

meetings emerged a railway labor bill. Congress took one look at it, found it fair, made it the law of the land. Why not, asks Mr. Stark, try the same formula again? Labor learned from the near débâcle in the House that it must modify its post-election stand—a mildly amended Wagner Act or nothing. To industry, Mr. Stark suggests, it must now be made clear that

a labor-relations law, to be equitable, must not be one like the Taft-Hartley Act, whose policy emphasizes the "rights" of the parties, for in that direction lies the temptation to go to law, not to conference.

What the country wants is a law that will encourage collective bargaining, not legal hair-splitting. There are men in labor and management who can write that sort of law. Isn't there someone in the country who can bring them together?

Surprise! Surprise!

No one can say our Congress hasn't a nifty change of pace. For weeks the Senate filibustered itself into a complete standstill. In mid-May it dawdled three days over a District of Columbia sales tax. Then, on the afternoon of May 16, Senator McClellan, Chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department, brought up the reorganization bill and proposed that it be passed immediately. In a few minutes it was. The House passed a similar bill on February 7 (Am. 2/19, p. 529). But no one expected the Senate, already weeks behind its schedule, to whip through a companion measure without haggling. Rather important differences between the two bills must be ironed out in conference. In the Senate's version, the President may institute certain reforms provided neither house vetoes them within sixty days. The House required a veto from both chambers to prevent any reform from taking effect. On the other hand, the House exempted certain agencies from Excutive reorganization, whereas the Senate exempted none. The Senate limited the authority given the President to April 1, 1953, while the House gave him permanent authority. How account for this sudden burst of speed? Well, President Truman has been very anxious to be allowed to initiate reforms early enough to let the sixty days elapse before Congress adjourns. He urged action on reorganization in his special message of May 9. Maybe, too, Congress thinks administrative reorganization by the President might turn up some badly needed economies. With the battle of the budget reaching a critical stage, any savings would be much appreciated—especially if Congress does not have to make them. To the Editors of this Review, not the least surprising feature of the Senate's action was the speed with which the Senators responded to our editorial urging in las, week's issue—the very day AMERICA hit their desks.

Congress and atomic energy

Ever since it was set up by the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, our national Atomic Energy Commission has pretty well gone its own gait—a sufficiently fast one, to be sure. The Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, supposed to be watchdog over its activities, has

finally bestirred itself. Result: the Commission will no longer give science research fellowships to self-confessed Communists. The Congressional Committee should also dispose once for all of its chairman's contention that the U. S. should divulge the size of our atomic bomb stockpile. Senator McMahon continues to demand that we should do so 1) to deter potential aggressors (not Luxembourg!); 2) to guide Congress in its appropriations for defense. The Congress, said the Senator recently, is like a general, training his troops without knowing how much ammunition he has in reserve. That comparison, we venture to suggest, shows signs of a limp. The Senator himself says that twenty-four top U. S. officials know the size of our stockpile. Presumably they have taken it into consideration in their strategic planning. And since defense appropriations have already been made, we shall have to trust the Joint Chiefs of Staff to make the most effective use of them. As to deterring the Russians from aggression, continuing uncertainty about the number of A-bombs we have is probably more effective than knowing the number. If the Russians knew the size of our stockpile they could easily calculate the rate of our production and adjust their own schedules so as to overtake and then surpass us. So we agree with President Truman that it is better to keep them guessing. Best, of course, would be final agreement on international control of atomic energy. June 14 will mark the third anniversary of the first meeting of the UN Atomic Energy Commission. We repeat a suggestion we have made before in these pages: the Joint Congressional Committee should summon our delegation and ask for a full accounting of the negotiations. Has Russian stubbornness been entirely to blame for the stalemate, or has incompetence in our delegation also been partly responsible? The nation needs to know, and the Joint Congressional Committee has the power to find out.

Immigration from Asia

On March 1 the House passed HR 199, a bill introduced by Walter H. Judd (R., Minn.) to liberalize our immigration and naturalization policies with regard to Asiatics. The bill now lies in the files of a Senate subcommittee, where it seems destined to expire peacefully with the ending of the 81st Congress (Am. 3/19, p. 643; 3/26, p. 671). Its intent is not forgotten, however, as was shown at the fourth National Conference on Citizenship, held May 14-18 in New York under the sponsorship of the National Education Association and the Department of Justice. Said Edward J. Shaughnessy, director of the New York District of the Immigration and Naturalization Service:

I could conceive of no stronger tie with the people of the Orient than to enact the principles of the Judd bill, thus recognizing once and forever the right of persons not only of the yellow race but of all races to participate in the citizenship of our country.

While the quota admitted by the Judd bill would be numerically insignificant—less than one per cent of our annual immigration, only 185 a year from Japan—its provision extending the privilege of citizenship to all Orientals resident here would be an adult gesture productive of much good will across the Pacific. Mr. Deverall's article (p. 284, this issue) makes it clear that the Japanese islands are simply too small to sustain their population and that emigration is a necessary element in any solution of the problem. Our parsimonious 185 a year offers the Japanese no consolation. It might be the part of wisdom to consider whether a more generous policy might result in making our sparsely populated West one bastion of a strong and friendly Pacific community.

British local elections

Are the British people, including some workers, becoming tired of the Labor Government's steady diet of continued austerity and restrictions? That was the question political observers were asking last week in the wake of municipal elections in England and Wales. With returns nearly complete, the Conservatives gained 792 seats and Labor lost 702. Though for the most part the election was fought on local issues-town hall being traditionally separated from Whitehall-many voters no doubt also had national issues in mind. Anyway, the Conservative Party was cheered by the results, and its leaders promptly predicted victory in the general election next year. At Transport House in London, the Party headquarters, Laborites were reported correspondingly depressed. Amid the chorus of partisan comment, however, the Manchester Guardian calmly warned against drawing premature conclusions. It pointed out that Labor lost more seats outside of London in the 1947 local elections than it did this time, and that independents, who usually vote with the Conservatives, dropped sixty-three seats, thus partially offsetting Labor's losses. Moreover, local elections in Britain have not always in the past been an accurate indication of how the electorate votes in the Parliamentary test. And Labor has still to lose its first by-election since gaining power in 1945. What the elections seemed to show beyond dispute is that Labor is somewhat weaker than in 1945 and the Conservatives somewhat stronger; and that Sir Stafford Cripps' recent budget, which made no concessions to human nature, had something to do with the losses sustained by the Labor Party.

UN vote on Italian colonies

The General Assembly of the United Nations rejected on May 18, by a vote just one short of the required two-thirds majority, the plan for the former Italian colonies that had been agreed on in London by British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin and Count Carlo Sforza, Italy's Foreign Minister. The proposal was that Italy should take over the administration of Tripolitania from Britain in 1951, and hold it until all of Libya became independent in 1959. The Assembly also rejected the paragraph that would have put Somaliland under Italian trusteeship. The resolution was first favored by France, along with the Latin-Americans, and then opposed by her. Sir Alexander Cadogan for Great Britain and Warren R. Austin for the United States spoke warmly in support of the resolution. It represented generally the utmost compromise pos-

sible between the ideas Italians entertained as to their just claims and the strong opposition of the Arab nations, the Asiatics and the Soviet Union. Violent demonstrations by the Arabs the day before in Tripoli against the Italian trusteeship plan did not help the Italian cause in the Assembly. The crowd carried pictures of Stalin and protested against "imperialism." With his compromise proposal, Count Sforza had already faced catcalls from opponents on both flanks in Italy, as well as from the Roman press. His position, and that of the Italian Christian Democrats, will be rendered incredibly harder after this blow to any revival of Italy's prestige. An alternative plan, proposed by the Soviets, called for collective trusteeship of Libya and Somaliland. This was rejected by the Assembly, which voted 51-0 to defer decision on the Italian colonies until it meets again on September 20. Italy's communist leader Togliatti termed defeat of the Bevin-Sforza plan a "glaring failure" not only of Sforza but of Premier De Gasperi. Non-communist opponents of the plan will need to prove this is not the case.

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UN convention on newsgathering

Happier days are ahead for foreign correspondents if the UN Convention on the International Transmission of News and the Right of Correction has the effect its sponsors hope for. The convention was approved by the General Assembly on May 14, by a vote of 33-6, and transmitted to the member states for ratification. Key provisions guarantee freedom of entry and egress to bona-fide correspondents, and access to news sources on a non-discriminatory basis. Correspondents "shall not be expelled on account of any lawful exercise of the right to collect and report news material." Censorship is to be restricted, as far as possible, to wartime and to matters of national security. It should take place in the presence of the correspondent where feasible; at least, he must be notified promptly of the nature and extent of deletions or changes. Cablegrams are to be charged for on the basis of the word-count after censorship. If a contracting state feels that a dispatch by a correspondent or news agency is false or derogatory, it has the right to forward a correction to other states, which agree to publish it through their ordinary news channels. If a state refuses to do this, provision is made for publication through the news channels of the United Nations. The convention comes into effect for signatory states as soon as six have ratified it. The Soviet bloc announced that they have no intention of ratifying. This surprised no one, for the convention was adopted over bitter and bitter-end Soviet opposition.

A reminder

For the benefit of readers who may have overlooked the notice in our issue of May 14, we reprint the information that the index to Volume LXXX, covering issues of AMERICA from October 9, 1948 to April 2, 1949, is now ready for distribution. Subscribers can obtain copies upon request from our business office at 70 East 45th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

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The members of Congress who are sincerely worried about the prospect of a government deficit in the next fiscal year are faced with immense difficulties.

The first difficulty is sheer (though, be it said, necessary) ignorance. The complexity of the appropriation bills is so great, and there are so many bills, that it is an impossibility for any one Congressman to know whether he is doing right in his vote. He just has to take it on faith from specialists in his ranks that this or that item is reasonable.

Another vital item in his ignorance is the future. There is a downward trend in income right now and, therefore, in expected government revenues. How does he know that there will be this trend a year from now?

Another item in his ignorance is economic theory. How can he tell whether one of two or three different theories of government spending is true? For that matter, the professional economists cannot know, either; for all theories are opinions or guesswork.

Two recent incidents have underlined the impotence of Congress in this matter. Two Congresses ago, the Congress required of itself to draw up a "legislative" budget, to parallel the President's budget. This was a kind of pledge to itself that it would not appropriate a total greater than the one it promised. The 80th Congress did this half-heartedly, but too late to have any effect. This Congress tacitly gave up the project as an impossible job.

A more revealing incident was Senator Taft's suggestion that there be a ten-per-cent (later reduced to five-per-cent) reduction in all expenditures straight across the board. This was a counsel of despair, a confession that Congress will not consent to any cut anywhere unless all cuts are equal. It has proved impractical, for not all cuts can be equal.

It is admitted that there are only three ways to prevent a deficit: cut expenditures, or raise taxes, or do both partially. No Congressman wants to vote to raise taxes and, besides, some economists hold that tax increases will only increase the recession. The President doggedly holds to his desire to increase taxes by about \$4 billion.

The biggest difficulty is the small margin within which expenses can be cut. Of the nearly \$42 billion which the President estimated we should spend, not more than \$9 billion represent the ordinary running of the Government; the balance arises out of the war and the world situation. It cannot be cut, and may have to be raised. The only cuts can come out of ordinary expenditures. They certainly cannot come to \$4 billion, no matter how you figure; perhaps not to \$1 billion. As a matter of fact, nobody will be able to tell until a month or so after the present session adjourns just how much money the Congress did appropriate.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

Summer Occasions: Boston College: Social Worship Program—lectures and workshops, June 27-Aug. 6 (Rev. William J. Leonard, S.J., Boston College, Chestnut Hill 67, Mass.) . . . Stevens Hotel, Chicago: Second National Catholic Building Convention and Exposition June 14-16 (reservations through Stevens Hotel) . . . Gregorian Institute of America: Nineteen five-day sessions in various cities from Boston to Los Angeles, between June 27 and Aug. 5 (2132 Jefferson Avenue, Toledo 2, Ohio).

▶ The Labor Leader, organ of the New York Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, draws attention to the flood of rosaries and religious articles (over 1,250,000 in 1948) coming in from Czechoslovakia, under a trade treaty signed before the Communists took over that country. Since the Czech economy is now run on the model of the Soviet slave state, says the ACTU paper,

the net effect is that American purchasers of Czechmade religious products—and in all probability the majority of such purchasers are Catholics—are subsidizing a regime which fastened itself by force, stealth and deceit on the unhappy Czech people. They are sustaining a system whose leaders have proclaimed their contempt for all religion.

The Labor Leader's advice: look before you buy.

▶ In Holland, Dutch Protestant groups have asked the Government to enforce more strictly the laws on Catholic processions in the streets, reports Religious News Service, May 16. These processions are allowed only where they were held before 1853. The Protestant groups feel that through Catholic processions,

views directly opposed to the norms of spiritual and constitutional freedoms which for large groups of our people are not only an unassailable patrimony, but even have given the Netherlands its very existence, are thrust upon free citizens.

Speaking at the golden jubilee celebrations of the Nijmegen Catholic University, reports RNS the same day, the Minister of Education, F. J. Rutten, declared that "the values of the Catholic conception of life have contributed in no small way to the broadening and deepening of the Netherlands culture." And he continued:

The Government appreciates being able to express its gratitude. In 1900 there was only one Catholic professor out of a total of 209 university professors. At present there are 104 Catholic professors working at our universities out of a total of 724 professors. In 1900 only 7 per cent of the students at our universities were Catholics. Last year, 6,500 students—26 per cent—were Catholics. These figures are one indication of a Catholic renaissance.

► On May 21 and 22 Francis Cardinal Spellman celebrated his tenth anniversary as Archbishop of New York. The occasion was marked by a Pontifical Mass, May 21, for the Religious and children of the diocese; and one on May 22 for the public. America joins the clergy and laity in a fervent Ad Multos Annos. C. K.

DP's in the sugar cane

When on March 7 the International Refugee Organization announced that nine ships carrying 5,940 displaced persons were coming to the United States, many a query was raised as to how these new arrivals would manage to fit into our American way of life. Two months later, May 14, case records of the Displaced Persons Commission in Washington were cited showing that in the previous year 21,425 European DP's had settled in the United States in any number of highly skilled jobs and professions. "We haven't had to send a single one home," said Ugo Carusi, chairman of the commission.

A remarkably warm welcome has been given to the new arrivals by regions which have usually proved most suspicious of foreigners. Of the twelve top States in reception of refugees, Louisiana, with 862 settled, ranks seventh; and Mississippi, with 703, eleventh.

That Americans, especially the American farmers, are satisfied with the refugees is established beyond question. But are the DP's finding reason to be dissatisfied here?

A recent inspection tour of the South conducted by the National Catholic Resettlement Council would seem to set at rest such an anxiety. Farms and homes in North Carolina in which displaced persons had been settled in the last few months were inspected in the course of a 200-mile tour by the Council's officials. Placement of these families was made through the Catholic priests in that territory. "In every instance the displaced persons spoke of the hope that other farm families—relatives and friends in the DP camps in Europe—might be given the same opportunity of settling in the areas."

The optimistic note should not cause us to forget some of the problems that still need to be faced if refugee resettlement in this country is to run smoothly. To Mr. Carusi's commission came complaints of mistreatment and "slave labor" that were immediately seized upon by the present Polish regime's vociferous delegate to the United Nations. These reports were investigated, reported Mr. Carusi, and found to be without basis. "Their pay and working conditions were found to be identical to those of the native Americans around them."

Catholic War Relief Services (NCWC) were alerted about complaints lodged in American foreign-language papers by several persons who were located through the good offices of the Catholic Resettlement Council on plantations in southwestern Louisiana. A lively discussion resulted in the press, in which officials of the national and diocesan organizations took part. This in turn led to further studies of the problem of Catholic resettlement work in the rural South. Reports of these studies will soon be available, but in the meantime a few simple conclusions may be noted.

1. Resettlement on a going Southern plantation can be attractive. Even though a man may have to work for a while as a farm laborer, opportunity is at hand for eventual advancement and land ownership. Temporary disadvantages are in part compensated for by chances to hunt, fish and tend gardens. Cordial relations with employers and neighbors are easily established.

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2. Europeans with thrifty habits are disconcerted by the irregular hours and the seasonal income of a tenant or share-cropper in the United States, as well as by the use of crop liens to provide sufficient cash in the off seasons of the year. Defective placing has in some instances landed refugees on large "corporation" farms, whose owners' sole interest in the property is the holding, for the few years permitted by State law, of their mineral rights. The low wages set for sugar workers by the U. S. Department of Agriculture reflect the weak state of the American sugar industry, in which many planters and sugar-mill operators are being forced out of business. Even the now thriving rice farms face a somewhat uncertain future.

3. While little as yet has been said about this aspect of resettlement, the presence of refugees will eventually raise certain questions about competition with native Negro farm workers, as will the attitude of our new citizens towards the prevailing race pattern.

4. The very hopeful element in the entire program is provided by innumerable manifestations of good will on the part of all concerned: those who screen the refugees and bring them here, those who aid in their economic and spiritual resettlement, those who employ them and work with them and, finally, of the DP's themselves. Numberless letters of appreciation and gratitude filed with Monsignor Castel of New Orleans and Monsignor Lerschen of Lafavette are eloquent testimony.

To the four preceding let us add a fifth and very relevant point: the more support the overworked and underpaid staffs of the Catholic War Relief Services and the Resettlement Council can obtain from the Catholic public, the better can they fulfill their stupendous job.

New hope for a free Germany

If the West wins the diplomatic battle for a free and united Germany at the Paris Foreign Ministers Conference, four million Eastern Zone Germans can claim a large share of credit for the victory. Just a week before the scheduled opening of the conference on May 23, they went to the polls in the Soviet-controlled territory and voted a thunderous "No" in an election which the Communists thought they had rigged to produce the usual Ivory Soap percentage in their favor. True, the vote for the communist delegates to the People's Congress and for "German unity, a speedy peace treaty and withdrawal of all occupation troops" was almost eight million, but eye-witnesses like Stephen White of the New York Herald Tribune swear that it was heavily padded, and that the score should have been at least a draw.

Whatever ballot-box skulduggery the future may dis-

close, one fact stands out clearly and encouragingly. In a public election in a Red-terrorized territory, four million Germans courageously rejected Soviet plans for a "united Germany." Their unexpected and unexampled action puts an entirely new face on the meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Paris, and will undoubtedly require radical revision of the strategy of both East and West.

The Russians had hoped to go to Paris brandishing a mandate from the Germans of their zone for unity, peace and freedom from occupation. They must also have hoped to pose as the spokesmen for the Germans of all zones; hence the inclusion of 500 candidates from the Western zones on the one-party ticket. The widespread interpretation of the vote as an overwhelming repudiation of their leadership will surely cause them to abandon that approach. A secondary effect may well be that they will cast aside the Socialist Unity Party (consisting of German Communists and Social Democrats) and replace it with a new People's Front. This, however, will take time, and Mr. Vishinsky is meanwhile faced by the necessity of devising a new strategy for the Ministers' meeting. We wonder if even his magnificent aplomb can weather the shock of those elections.

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We wonder likewise whether the diplomats of the West are sufficiently sagacious to take full advantage of this sudden change in the situation. Although nothing official has been divulged, there have been indications that their preliminary meetings to devise strategy had been devoted largely to a search for means of countering Soviet proposals. The results of the recent elections should encourage them to take the initiative at once. It will be good to see Mr. Vishinsky thrown off balance for a change.

The Western Powers are reported as favorable to over-all unification if a referendum in all four zones can be arranged according to the terms of the Bonn Constitution, now in process of ratification. It is likewise reported, however, that they hesitate to propose a plebiscite because they fear they could not count on a free ballot in the Eastern zone. Our readers may recall that the pessimism we expressed last week about the Paris Conference turned on the same misgivings. The reassuring results of last week's elections have convinced us that holding an all-German vote is a calculated risk worth taking.

It must be remembered that the Soviets, who had promised hourly election returns, held up all announcements for twenty hours. During that time they were able to find 863,013 invalid ballots—and that on a one-party ballot which required a simple "Yes" or "No." Even a n.cdicum of four-Power supervision should be able to guarantee truthful tabulation of the votes.

In the report we have cited, Stephen White quoted an American official as saying that the number of "No" votes was probably accurate, but that the "Yes" votes were wildly padded, both to bring up the electorate's participation and to deliver the victory. If such is the case, the West would run little risk by calling for an early plebiscite. There is every chance that many more millions of Germans, heretofore intimidated by the Soviets, would take fire from the example of their four million fellows and vote to extend the Bonn Constitution to all Germany.

Spain at Lake Success

On May 16 the UN Assembly, by a vote of 26-15, failed to pass the Four Power Resolution allowing the return of Ambassadors and Ministers to Spain while Franco is in power. The vote fell four short of the two-thirds required. Eleven of the 26 in favor either already have chiefs of mission in Madrid or plan to send them, on the score that a majority in the UN approves.

Spain has been made a political football by the Soviet bloc ever since the UN began operating—just as she has been made a religious football by American Protestants. In neither case have the intrinsic merits of the question justified the propaganda war waged for publicity purposes.

In December, 1946 Poland gained adoption of the resolution asking all member states to withdraw their chiefs of mission from Madrid. We meekly complied. As Norman Armour, our Ambassador, had resigned, we simply failed to appoint a successor.

Ever since March, 1947 our foreign policy has been geared to the realities of the two worlds into which Russia has smashed the dream of one-world peace. Last fall Senator Chan Gurney and James A. Farley, after visiting Spain, called for the resumption of complete diplomatic relations. More recently, Senators Connally, Vandenberg and Taft have expressed dissatisfaction with our Spanish policy. Meanwhile Spain negotiated a token \$25-million loan from the Chase National Bank and was reportedly asking for a large loan from the Export-Import Bank, which was refused on May 16. Although left out of ERP, Spain is naturally being thought of as a possible ally in the North Atlantic Pact.

Despite the catcalls of bigots, the evidence proves that these shifts took place wholly apart from official Catholic influence. The State Department seemed to soften up under heavy pressures—political, military and economic.

Four Latin-American Powers in the UN—Brazil, Peru, Colombia and Bolivia—won approval in the UN Political Committee on May 7 for their resolution to rescind the 1946 action. The vote was 25-16. A close fight was predicted to gain the two-thirds necessary in the General Assembly.

Diplomatic maneuvering, with Latins and Arabs lined up against Slavs and Anglo-Saxons, grew intense. On May 11 Secretary Acheson felt obliged to explain why the U. S. would "abstain" from voting, in company with Britain and France. He gave as our reasons: 1) that Spain fails to provide civil protections and fails to uphold freedom of association and of religion; and 2) that Western Europeans, our allies, refuse to enter into "an intimate working partnership" with Spain until she conforms to the family code of fundamental civil liberties.

The second argument appeals to us more than the first. Of what use is diplomatic representation as a "symbol" of approval or disapproval of a regime? Mr. Acheson conceded that the 1946 resolution had had no effect. In fact, as Sumner Welles has often pointed out, tactics such as these usually only arouse resentment against us and solidify a regime.

It may be true, as reported on May 12, that the State Department had instructed our delegation to the UN to vote "yes," but that Mrs. Roosevelt, John Foster Dulles and Benjamin V. Cohen "unsold" Mr. Acheson. The Secretary's "clarification" of our reasons for abstaining sounded as if something like this had happened.

As we have pointed out before (Am. 10/23/48, p. 62), our relations with Spain cannot avoid being awkward. What irks many people, and irks us, is our continued association with the hypocrisy of the 1946 Soviet-inspired Polish resolution. Mr. Acheson unveiled this hypocrisy by likening Spain's lack of freedom to that in Russia's satellites, though he overshot the mark. But he has still to explain how our Spanish policy advances American interests.

Congress and the Budget

When the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 was adopted, and for a decade thereafter, it seemed as if we had found the way to draw up and carry out a comparatively business-like Federal budgetary system. The President, through his Bureau of the Budget, was given primary responsibility for balancing income and outgo. In Congress, special committees on appropriations were to decide on all expenditures, instead of letting individual committees make these decisions without any coordination. The tax-legislation committees of both houses remained in charge of the job of tailoring Federal revenue, by means of taxes, to Federal needs, i.e., appropriations.

This system presupposes that the policies for which expenditures are made have been agreed upon by the President and Congress, acting in unison through a coherent party organization. President Truman and the 81st Congress lack the teamwork our system requires. This disagreement, however, is not the most important reason why the Federal budget is at present out of gear.

The real trouble seems to be disagreement over their respective estimates of the total of Federal revenue to be expected in the fiscal year of June 30, 1949-June 30, 1950. The President, basing his estimate on the expectation that the national income would remain at the high annual rate of \$215 billion through the first half of 1950, figured on receipts totaling \$40.985 billion. The Joint Congressional Committee on Revenue and Taxation, basing its estimate on a decline in personal income to a level of \$198 billion in 1950, reported on May 14 that Federal revenues would run \$2 billion short of the President's reckoning. As the President's budget calls for expenditures of \$41.858 billion, it is easy to see why many Congressmen are now predicting a \$3-billion deficit in the budget Congress is scrutinizing.

The President has consistently asked for a \$4-billion rise in taxes—not merely to balance the budget, but to continue his policy of retiring part of the national debt every year. Without some increase in taxes even the Presidents' budget looked to a deficit of \$873 million. We must remember, too, that the President's budget made no provision for the \$1.2 billion European arms pro-

gram, since proposed, for increased veterans' benefits (which will be held down, apparently), or for increased agricultural price-support payments.

Besides the differences in estimates between the President and Congress, our fiscal system lets each house of Congress go about the budget problem in a disjointed way. The Senate tried, and then gave up trying, to institute a straight 5-per-cent reduction in one appropriation bill. The House played with a huge veterans' pension plan, and has voted much heavier appropriations for public housing than the Senate.

There is one area of dispute on policy between the President and Congress—over the advisability of a tax increase. Even apart from that disagreement, however, Congressmen are beginning to see that our national legislature needs a joint system of making appropriations, one in which the appropriations committees will vote on expenditures as a whole, not merely piecemeal. Senator Wherry (R., Neb.) and Rep. Byrnes (R., Wisc.) intend to propose such a "consolidated" form of appropriations. One thing is certain: unless the Congress does better with these suggested methods than it did with the Legislative Budget it embarked on in 1946, nothing will come of them.

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If Congress refuses to accept the President's budget, including the tax increase, let it devise one of its own. It has the responsibility, and cannot evade it.

Peter Maurin, R.I.P.

Peter Maurin, who died at the Catholic Worker's Maryfarm, near Newburgh, on May 15, was original in both the French and English senses of the word. He was a personality of winning innocence, integrity and independence; he was a prototype of lay Catholic Action with an enthusiasm for voluntary poverty. Dorothy Day says that the Catholic Worker would never have existed except for Peter. Yet Peter was more a professor than a publicist. Best of all, he practised literally what he professed. He was a great simplifier. The scholastic scaffolding of St. Thomas' Summa came tumbling down as Peter outlined in his blank-verse "Easy Essays" the medieval teaching on the importance of Big Shots and Little Shots.

He simplified everything. The corporal works of mercy are an inescapable personal responsibility. Peter's impressive knowledge of Irish history gave him the idea of Houses of Hospitality, shelters for the homeless. There are more than thirty of them now, thanks to Peter's inspiration. Before there was a Catholic Worker Peter was visiting AMERICA to explain his program of the Green Revolution to Fathers Parsons and LaFarge. Personal indoctrination was Peter's mission in life. His pedagogy was unique. He would loudly question a sleeping benchwarmer in Union Square until a crowd arrived. "The trouble with the world is," Peter was convinced, "that the man of thought doesn't act and the man of action doesn't think." It would be a delight to angels to hear Peter explain to Gandhi the positive Christianity of Péguy, for Peter's life was a challenge to Brahmin escapism as well as bourgeois smugness.

Streamlining the Federal Government

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A COMPREHENSIVE array of facts, figures and recommendations for streamlining the National Government, reducing its costs and improving its services confronts Congress. The Hoover Commission has finally delivered to that body its eighteen official reports—reports including intensive and comprehensive studies of the administration machinery of the National Government.

The Hoover Commission—the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch created by the 80th Congress in July, 1947—was a twelve-man bi-partisan group, of which four members were chosen by the President of the Senate, four by the Speaker of the House, four by President Truman. From among its own members the Commission chose ex-President Hoover as chairman and the present Secretary of State Dean Acheson as vice-chairman. For the last sixteen months this Hoover Commission has investigated the organization and operations of our Federal agencies with the avowed purpose of promoting economy, efficiency and improved service.

This concern for economy, efficiency and improved service is of crucial importance. The present set-up of administrative agencies is characterized by some as a hodgepodge and maze of duplications, overlappings, inefficiencies and inconsistencies. There are, for example, 29 agencies dealing with the lending of government funds, 28 agencies to administer welfare activities, 14 agencies concerned with aspects of forestry. As of January 1, 1949 the executive branch of the National Government comprised 11,816 separate departments, agencies and independent offices, employing slightly more than two million persons. And for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1950 Congress is expected to appropriate approximately \$45 billion for operations under the Federal Government.

In their search for improved public management, the Hoover Commission subdivided the major problems of government into topics, and appointed research "task forces" to gather data on each problem. Some 300 experienced specialists were appointed to these task forces. Among them were two former Cabinet officers, thirteen former Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries of government departments, three former United States Senators, five former Governors of States, presidents of ten major universities, and many representatives of commercial concerns having experience in special fields. No less than two million words of background material, findings and recommendations were submitted to the Commission by task forces in countless mimeographed volumes and appendices. The result is perhaps the most massive and thoroughgoing body of research on the national administration in the history of government.

AMERICA readers, we suspect, like other U. S. citizens, often complain of inefficiency and waste in government. The Hoover Reports give them an opportunity to do something about it. Since few have time to study the full Reports, we present this condensed analysis. Mr. Misey has specialized in public administration as student and teacher, and has himself investigated Federal agencies in Washington.

ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUAL REPORTS

The initial Hoover Report was entitled General Management of the Executive Branch. This proposed a broad consolidation and realignment of government agencies, with far-reaching internal reforms. Salient among the Commission's recommendations was one calling for the consolidation of the present 65 departments, boards and commissions reporting directly to the President, into about one-third of that number. It was manifestly impossible, said the Report, for the President to give adequate supervision to so many agencies. The findings also reviewed the President's immediate staff, consisting of the White House Office, the Bureau of the Budget, the Council of Economic Advisers, the National Security Council and the National Security Resources Board; and it recommended the following additions: 1) an Office of Personnel whose head should also be the chairman of the Civil Service Commission, 2) an Office of the Economic Adviser with a single head to replace the Council of Economic Advisers, 3) the provision of funds to enable the President to employ advisory commissions. Finally, the Commission reiterated its support of a proposed Reorganization Act of 1949 whereby the President may submit reorganization plans to Congress to implement the recommendations of the Hoover Commission.

I. Reports on Activities Common to All Agencies: In the report on Personnel Management, recommendations are made for the reorganization of the Civil Service Commission and the improvement of employment practices. One of the major reforms proposed—perhaps the most controversial in the Report—is the recommendation to decentralize the recruiting and examining functions of the civil service by delegating this responsibility to the departments and agencies themselves.

Budgeting and Accounting recommendations envisage a radical revision in the Federal Government's budgeting presentation and in the methods of accounting for past expenditures. A "performance" budget based upon functions, activities and projects is proposed to replace the present budgetary concept based upon personnel services, supplies and equipment. The Commission also recommends that Congress undertake a complete survey of the appropriations structure. As to improving accounting and auditing, the majority view of the Commission was that accounting is an executive function which should be integrated under an "Accountant General," leaving the Comptroller General, a legislative officer, free to audit the accounts. Thus the departments would keep the books and the Comptroller General would check them.

Recommendations embodied in Office of General Services—Supply Activities propose the establishment of an

Office of General Services to handle three major internal housekeeping activities of the government: supply, records management, and the operation and maintenance of public buildings.

II. Reports on the Big Departments include studies of the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Interior, Treasury, Post Office, State and the National Military Establishment. The recommendations in these reports are varied, yet all are related to a basic concern with two recurring problems of organization; 1) how best to organize the internal activities and operations of the department, and 2) how best to group similar governmental activities under one department.

Concerning the first problem, the report on Foreign Affairs, for example, urges a clear line of command for the Secretary of State from top to bottom of the organization, and gradual amalgamation of the Department's permanent Washington personnel with that of the Foreign Service into a single Foreign Affairs Service obligated to serve at home or overseas. Another example is found in the Commission's report on The National Security Organization. In this Report, Congress is told that the defense establishment needs real unification rather than "federation" to make the Army, Navy and Air Force function together effectively, and needs civilian control strengthened through the Secretary of Defense. The report on the Department of Agriculture proposes basic organizational changes in the departmental structure, in field organization, agricultural research stations, credit activities, irrigation projects and in the regulation of food products to protect consumers. Both the Post Office and Treasury Department reports—with the object of improved internal organization-contain recommendations to end political appointments. The confirmation of postmasters, as well as of collectors of internal revenue, by the Senate, should be abolished.

With respect to grouping similar governmental activities under one department, the report on the Department of Interior proposes to Congress that our vast public works and conservation projects be consolidated in the Interior Department. These activities would include, for example, flood control and the river and harbor improvements now performed by the Army Corps of Engineers, as well as the public-buildings construction and community services now performed by the Federal Works Agency. The report on Department of Commerce recommends that all major transportation activities of the Government-except the regulatory functions of the independent commissions and boards-be grouped in the Commerce Department. The Commission advocates that the Department of Labor be fattened, in the interest of greater efficiency, by the transfer to it of agencies and functions like the Bureau of Employment Security and the Bureau of Employes Compensation now vested in the Federal Security Agency and the Selective Service System.

III. Reports on Social Welfare Activities: Three reports, which deal with "social welfare" activities, concern 1) Social Security—Education—Indian Affairs, 2) Medical Activities, 3) Veterans' Affairs. The Social Security report suggests the creation of a new department with Cab-

inet status which would administer the welfare and education functions of the Federal Security Agency. Also recommended is the transfer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the Department of the Interior to the proposed new Department of Welfare and Education, and a program to make the nation's 400,000 Indians "full, taxpaying citizens" under the jurisdiction of the States. On the question of educational services, the Commission holds to the view that the educational program on which the Government now spends more than \$2.5 billion should be administered by the agencies whose functions the particular programs serve to promote, e.g. agriculture, Indian affairs, veterans.

The Medical Activities report prescribes a combination of the Government's vast facilities for medical care, public health and medical research under a new and independent agency, the United Medical Administration. Nearly all the hospitals of the Army, Navy and Air Force, all veterans' hospitals and the medical facilities of the Public Health Service would form integral parts of the proposed new agency.



The report on Veterans Affairs recommends major improvements in the structure of the central office of the Veterans Administration; and proposes that the VA's insurance operations be separated from all other VA programs and organized as a government corporation. It further suggests that the veteran-housing-loan-guarantee program be transferred

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to the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

IV. Other Hoover Reports: Federal Business Enterprise recommends a streamlined grouping of government lending and other business enterprises. Housing enterprises, for example, should be grouped under the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The report on Regulatory Commissions is concerned with the nine independent regulatory commissions: Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Power Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Securities & Exchange Commission, Federal Communications Commission, Civil Aeronautics Board, Federal Reserve Board, National Labor Relations Board and the U. S. Maritime Commission. Specifically it proposes 1) transfer of the power-planning functions of the Federal Power Commission to the Department of the Interior, 2) extension of bipartisan representation to all commissions, 3) increased salaries for the commissioners, 4) the vesting of administrative responsibility in commission chairmen.

The Overseas Administration—Federal-State Relations—Federal Research report is made up of three parts. Part I, on overseas administration, covers the problem of the occupied areas, European recovery, trust territories, unorganized possessions and organized territories. Part II, on Federal-State relations, is concerned with the grants-in-aid program, with duplicate areas of taxation and with

their effect upon the executive branch of the Government. Part III, on Federal research, recommends that authority be given to the President to coordinate governmental research, to strengthen interdepartmental committee organization for this purpose, and to establish a National Science Foundation.

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REORGANIZATION LEGISLATION

To act on the proposals of the Hoover Reports, both the Hoover Commission and Mr. Truman have asked Congress to grant the President broad powers. Students of public administration have long been convinced that only the President as Chief Executive can really reorganize the Government on an over-all basis. He can do this only if Congress will give him the power.

On February 7, 1949 the House of Representatives approved a proposed Reorganization Act of 1949 (H.R. 2361) which would incorporate the legislative veto. This means that the President may submit reorganization plans to Congress and, in the event that Congress is not amenable, it can register its disapproval by a simple majority in both houses. In the Senate version of the bill (S. 526), however, a single-house veto provision was inserted to replace the two-house veto authority over any reorganization proposal in the House bill. If the Senate version is finally accepted, it will mean that either chamber of Congress by saying "no" may veto the President's reorganization plans. The inevitable effect of the singlehouse veto provision in S. 526 will be to increase the hazards of getting approval for any of the major reforms recommended by the Hoover Commission. As the history of governmental reorganization shows, the single-house veto plan wrecked whatever chances ex-President Hoover may have had to effect a comprehensive reorganization in 1932. Other important provisions in the Senate bill set a time limit of April 1, 1953 for submitting reorganization plans, and grant no exception of agencies.

Despite the threat to reorganization efforts contained in the Senate bill by the incorporation of the singlehouse veto proposal, however, the extension of authority to the President to submit reorganization plans in accord with the recommendations of the Hoover Reports is wise and realistic. Thus any recommendations submitted by the Commission to Congress will be subject to close study by the President with a view to determining, on the one hand, which proposals may be put into effect by administrative action, executive order or reorganization plans, and, on the other, which would require legislative action initiated by Congress. This program will reduce the legislative load of Congress and encourage speedy implementation of the proposals recommended by the Hoover Commission and the President when they meet with the approval of both chambers of Congress.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

It is a commonplace that taxpayers and citizens, while they complain bitterly about cost and inefficiency in the national administration, do nothing to remedy these evils. To make certain that the Hoover Commission's exhaustive findings and proposals do not suffer from lack of

public understanding, a nation-wide Citizens Committee on Reorganization of the Executive Branch has been created. The Citizens Committee has the laudable objective of preventing the Hoover Reports from gathering dust at the Capitol. Emphasis will be laid on education work among representative civic groups throughout the nation, such as business, labor, farm, educational, veterans, and women's associations. It will conduct a campaign to inform the taxpayers of the added burdens imposed upon them by uneconomical practices, organization and procedures within the national administration. The national chairman of the organization is Dr. Robert L. Johnson, President of Temple University, who was a member of one of the Hoover Commission's task forces. More than 700 persons have accepted membership on the committee. The Citizens Committee on Reorganization of the Executive Branch represents a desirable and positive approach to enlisting public interest in the need for more efficiency in government.

Some Reactions to the Hoover Reports

That the Hoover Reports would be subject to criticism was a foregone conclusion. Critics from the ranks of Congress, political parties, Federal employes and agencies, labor, business and civic organizations have come forward with the publication of each official report. Congress itself has reacted with indifference to the recommendations-an indifference which stems from a natural reluctance to disturb the status and arrangements of Federal personnel and agencies. Sentiment in Congress favors a halting, go-slow policy. The various proposals, congressional leaders say, will all get fair hearings, but it would be a mistake to rush the proposals through without examination at length. Many members wish agencies they favor to remain untouched by any reorganization. Congressional patronage would, of course, be cut down by any streamlining of the Federal Government.

Chairman J. Howard McGrath of the Democratic National Committee has censured the Hoover Commission for wandering into the field of political propaganda by abandoning its policy of sticking to the housekeeping problems of government in order to dictate Federal policy. The Civil Service Commissioners, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the National Federation of Federal Employes, largest of the Government's worker unions, say that the Hoover Commission's recommendations to decentralize personnel transactions to the various agencies is unwise, since the proposal, if accepted, would invite widespread favoritism and personal patronage. Banking and financial circles are opposed to the proposals to transfer three major lending and guarantee agencies to the Treasury. The Federal Security Agency became irate over the Hoover Commission's charge that Federal publicity men play down the costs of social security and play up its benefits. Officials at the Federal Security Agency have labeled the charge a shocking misrepresentation. And the National Archives regard as inexpedient a proposal of the Commission to set up a central Bureau of Records Management and establish a central records depository.

Criticism of this nature is not only inevitable but also desirable. Under the best of circumstances it will not be an easy task to overhaul the machinery of government. Authoritative criticism is needed to appraise the value of the Hoover Commission's proposals in particular situations and to sift the relevant proposals from the vagaries of diverse experts. Success or failure of the recommendations will depend in part on their merits and in part on the inherent difficulties of any thoroughgoing governmental reorganization. It would be a real tragedy, however, if short-sighted criticisms should result in a collapse of this latest of all attempts to put our Government on an efficient basis.

CONCLUSION

Notwithstanding the barrage of criticisms pro and con, the Hoover Reports will have lasting value. Our conjectures and expectations concerning them will no doubt reflect our divergent criteria of what we consider "good government." Yet a basic core of agreement will emerge. The foremost management problem will remain: the perennial and challenging need to synchronize our admin-

No room to live in Japan

Richard L-G. Deverall

THE JAPANESE are a pragmatic and practical people. When they borrowed from the Chinese to manufacture their word for "population" they took two characters which mean "man" and "mouth." The Japanese word jinko, or population, literally means "the mouths of men." And for the Japanese there could be no better characterization. The birth of a new Nipponese child means about only one thing: one more mouth to feed!

At the time that St. Francis Xavier visited Japan (1549) there were approximately 20,000,000 Japanese residing in the four main islands of Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu (and at that time Hokkaido was a wilderness considered a "foreign country" by the Japanese). Although from the time of St. Francis down to the entry of Commodore Perry in 1853-54 the Japanese practised "thinning out" of the population by infanticide, their numbers nevertheless slowly rose to 30,000,000.

Following Perry's trip to Japan and the opening up of Japan to the West, the twin forces of modern sanitation and industrialization served to spur population growth upwards. Infanticide was made illegal, and military men who dreamed of an ever-expanding Japanese empire talked glowingly of children as the greatest asset of the nation.

Thus by the time of Pearl Harbor the Japanese had increased and multiplied to such an extent that they boasted of 75,000,000 Japanese in the four islands and

istrative organizations and methods in order to perform the tasks Congress legislates for and the services that the public demands. The attendant problems will call for enthusiastic, thoughtful workmanship on the part of all civil servants, the adoption of the newest and best developments in management, whether they be from private industry or governmental agencies, the solution of the government's organization problems, and the development of objective means of testing the programs and methods of any agency to see if they are in need of adjustment, improvement or curtailment.

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The ultimate objective is good management to enable this big democracy to solve the problems of modern society. It is appropriate here to recall the observations of President Roosevelt in transmitting the report of his President's Committee on Administrative Management to Congress in 1937: "In these troubled years of world history, self-government cannot long survive unless that government is an effective and efficient agency to service mankind and carry out the will of the nation. A government without good management is a house builded on sand." The same urgency and need exist today.

Can you imagine California with a population of eighty million? Japan today is as crowded as that and, at the present birthrate, the Japanese people may soon number around 100 million. What is the answer? Mr. Deverall, former Chief of Labor Education under MacArthur in Japan, discusses the problem and the suggested solutions.

the expanding empire, which included Manchuria, Formosa, Okinawa, the Ryukyus, the Kuriles and the southern part of Sakhalin.

But with the end of the war the Japanese empire collapsed. The expanding land mass under Japanese control ceased to be available. And with the accelerated birth rate which followed the end of the war, the Japanese have by 1949 climbed to a total population of 81,500,000 human beings. These eighty-one million persons must live on four tiny islands which together do not have more than two-thirds of the land-surface area of the State of California. Imagine, if you can, the population and other problems that would confront California if eighty or ninety million persons lived within its borders.

General MacArthur's Public Health and Welfare Section, under the brilliant leadership and untiring, devoted work of General Crawford Sams, has done almost too good a job in Japan. As General Sams has said, the Occupation has lowered the death rate, increased life expectancy, cut down infant mortality and, in effect, is making it possible for more Japanese to be born and live for a longer time than heretofore.

Japanese experts surveying the population problem declare that by 1957 Japan will have a population within the four islands of 110,000,000. More conservative Allied experts say that by 1970 Japan will have 98,900,000 living within the four islands. Take the conservative

figures: you still have an enormous population problem affecting the whole world.

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Japan's increased population is partly a result of improved public health and sanitation, partly a result of mere natural growth. But it is also a result of a military expansionist policy pushed in order to produce ample supplies of factory hands and gun fodder.

In the days before the opening up of Japan, the population was controlled not only by infanticide but also by late marriages and other forms of self-discipline and social control. The warrior class of *Samurai*, for instance, usually married at the age of 30 years or later, and generally limited their families to two children.

In keeping with expansionist policies, limitations on population growth were abandoned in the "restored" Japan. Long before Commodore Perry arrived in Japan, the Japanese had been exploring the northern waters, had proposed invasion of Russian-held Kamchatka, and had their eyes on Sakhalin, Manchuria and Korea. When General Sadao Araki and his fellow militarists began the big all-out campaign against Asia back in 1931, their propagandists began to thump the drums about the virtue of large families. Urban workers were sneered at because their children were few and too often unhealthy. Araki and his expansionist friends hailed the Japanese peasant, who seemed capable of producing an increasing number of healthy children for the growing army and navy.

By 1941 the Cabinet Planning Bureau in Tokyo was winding up a long study of the population problem. It concluded that if the age of marriage were dropped three years, the birth rate could be increased to five children per couple. Director Kumagai of the Social Welfare Bureau of the Welfare Ministry in Tokyo said in 1941:

I believe that early marriages should be urged upon Japanese women. The Government must extend more protection to mothers and infants for the purpose of increasing the country's population. At present, Japanese women marry at the age of twenty-four. The average marriage age must be lowered to twenty years, since the period between twenty and twenty four is the most prolific. And the age of marriage for men must also be lowered. The Government must see to it that large families do not experience living difficulties.

Director Kumagai, something of a geopolitician, noted:
When Napoleon conquered Europe, France boasted
of a high birth rate. Japan likewise needs a large
population to lead the Co-Prosperity Sphere in the
Far East. The country needs boys because the China
war has cost us a large number of young men.

The agitation of 1941 resulted in an official Government announcement:

The immediate aim of the proposal is an increase of population to the 100,000,000 mark by 1960. For realization of Japan's mission as leader in the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the Government has announced the necessity of maintaining the unceasing and eternal responsibility of population; of attempting to outdo all other nations in point of size and quality of population; of ensuring an adequate supply to the military strength and for labor required by the State . . . and of distribution of the population so as to maintain Japanese leadership over the various peoples of East Asia.

Here's to Happy Marriages!

You can't easily mend a wrecked marriage. But you can save it from the rocks. And we'd better. One out of four marriages in our land ends on the rocks of the divorce courts.

Yet you can't expect young people to make marriage a success unless they know how. You can't ask the parents to handle their youngsters well if nobody teaches them the skills of parenthood.

All these needs explain the fastest growing Catholic movement in the U.S.A. The Cana Conference Movement spreads like a bright, warm flame. And from its start the Central Office of the Sodality of Our Lady has been actively engaged in promoting it.

It was in our office of the Sodality of Our Lady that the name Cana Conference was coined and the Cana Conference placed under the patronage of Our Lady of Cana. Father Dowling and other members of the staff of the Sodality Central Office have conducted hundreds of Cana Conferences for thousands of married and engaged couples.

Through the Cana Conference Movement we are teaching young people:

HOW

to stay pure for a later happy marriage... to make a success of their marriages... to save a marriage that's slipping... to understand and guide their own children.

Thousands of married people are being helped; other thousands are being given new inspiration to make a success of marriage and

Hundreds of priests across the country are working on their own local Cana Conferences for young people planning marriage, for married people hoping for happiness in marriage and eager to lead their children into successful lives.

We are keen to push this work. What's more important today than happy, Christian mar-

That's one of the reasons I'm frankly begging—for YOU and for YOUR YOUNG PEOPLE.

Thus far, we've thrown into the Cana Conference Department our personal earnings and gifts. We need half a million dollars (that's all right now) to publish and distribute more and better literature on marriage, to work more freely and widely for happier wives and husbands and better parents and children.

We need your gift, big or small. Will you help?

Daniel A. Lord, S. J.

Donations to the Sodality of Our Lady are allowable as income tax deduction. Please make checks payable to the Sodality of Our Lady and mail them to Rev. Daniel A. Lord, S.J., The Queen's Work, 3115 S. Grand Blvd., St. Louis 18, Mo.

The government policy was backed by government match-making bureaus, lending of money to newlyweds, and other financial measures making it easier for youngsters to marry. The Welfare Ministry went into the poster business, covering Japan with bright-colored posters bearing the slogan: "Children Are The Country's Hope and Treasure." Its drive to lower the age for marriage was most fruitful. Japan's statistics showed that prior to the age of twenty a women could bear a child every thirty months. A few years after twenty, the bearing period rose to thirty-eight months.

Thus the government policy of dropping the marriage age, plus a drive within industry forcing every employer to institute an employer-paid family-allowance scheme, combined to give Japan a further rise in its birthrate.

To counteract the population policies of the militarists, two immediate reforms have been suggested. The first is modification or even abolition of the family-allowance system of wage payment, in so far as this system, in Japan, is designed to promote a population growth, for imperialist ends. Since family allowances are proper in themselves, the only justification for curtailing them in Japan might be the wrong use to which they are put. The other suggested reform is to restore the legal age at which girls may marry to twenty-four instead of twenty. Here, again, the reform runs the danger of interfering with natural rights, as well as the rights of the Church. Besides, neither of these measures would relieve the present pressure. The adjustment needed is social and moral, rather than political. Ireland has done this without interfering with personal rights or adopting immoral means. The real relief of Japan's population pressures, as I point out below, can come only from migration.

Although Japan was defeated as of August 14, 1945, when Emperor Hirohito accepted the Potsdam Declaration, the population-increase policies of the military regime have remained practically untouched. During my three years in Japan under the Occupation, young Japanese told me: "Of course, it is Japanese tradition that boys marry at twenty-five, girls at twenty." Later on, older folks said: "Not so. Tojo make young girl marry to have many babies. It's bad, I think."

Although the population problem was mooted by the Japanese at the beginning of the Occupation, no one seemed to be particularly interested in it. There were far too many other pressing problems. But with the achievement of many of the aims of the Occupation in the military and social fields, the population problem of Japan is now becoming more important in terms of recognition by both Japanese and the Allied Powers.

Dr. Warren S. Thompson, director of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, recently visited Japan as an official consultant to Mac-Arthur's Natural Resources Section. He has studied the problem and is now working on his final report.

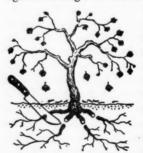
On March 18, 1949 the Tokyo newspaper Nippon Times carried a lengthy account of Dr. Thompson's views: "America's foremost population authority said... that birth control was the only hope for solving Japan's growing population crisis." The report added:

Dr. Thompson said, however, that he would not recommend that General MacArthur force the Japanese Government to institute birth-control programs. Unless the initiative comes from the Japanese themselves, he said, native expansionists could make capital of the alleged "American scheme to destroy the Japanese race."

The Nippon Times for March 19 carried another story which appears to be quite remarkable:

Dr. Thompson says the only answer is immediate widespread dissemination of birth-control information. He thinks the Japanese should take the initiative in such work, but should be furnished with every facility and every bit of information available to the United States. Dr. Thompson scoffed at the idea that the Catholic Church or any other considerable body of public opinion in the United States or elsewhere would oppose birth-control measures in Japan. He said: "Millions of Catholics in the United States practise birth control, and information about the rhythm system of birth control has been distributed under the imprimatur of the Church. The only thing the Church opposes is birth control for immoral purposes . . ."

In the same interview, Thompson reiterated his views against forcing birth control on the Japanese. "It is not



the democratic way," the Nippon Times quoted him as having said. Dr. Thompson suggested that the Japanese concentrate on having 2.6 children per family. "This will about keep the population stationary," he said. He also added that infanticide and abortion were no longer necessary, for now we have

"modern contraceptives."

Within the week, the Rev. Wm. A. Kaschmitter, NCWC correspondent in Japan, issued a statement attacking Thompson's interview. He made the point that "if we must have population control, why not curb the practice of forcing young girls into early marriage. . . . Why not teach the people the virtue of self-control?"

Certainly, recent Japanese history would indicate that action to roll back the marriage age to its pre-war level would play a very important part in stemming the population surge in Japan.

But we must face the fact that Japan today is a tiny island crowded with tens of millions of persons whose future, at best, is bleak. General MacArthur and his staff have taken almost heroic steps in the expansion of the foreign trade of Japan, but despite their globe-girdling efforts America is still financing Japan's food deficit and its foreign-trade deficit. And MacArthur's chances of solving the basic population problem by foreign trade would now seem slimmer than ever, for the advance southwards of the liberty-freezing communist glacier in China is something over which he has no control.

As MacArthur has emphasized before, many of the problems of Japan are not merely Occupation problems but are world problems which must be solved on a world basis. It seems that birth control in Japan, besides being

immoral, would not solve the population prolem. Raising of the marriage age will only provide relief from further pressure. The basic problem appears to be one of migration of large masses of Japanese from their destitute little islands to new and hitherto undeveloped regions, such as Borneo, New Guinea, parts of Africa, parts of South America, Australia and the United States.

But migration as a solution is at present barred by racial restrictions in Australia, the United States and many other countries. All these countries have a moral obligation to revise their policies. The population problem of Japan must be solved. We have seen before that population pressures provide a pretext for war as a means of acquiring "living room."

There is no doubt in my mind but that the communist drive in the Orient now pushing through China will, as soon as possible, include Japan within its orbit. For the greatest shortage suffered by the Soviet Far East is the shortage of personnel. The huge industrial plant of North Korea-Manchuria, which is now inside the Oriental Iron Curtain, needs skilled manpower. The fact that today, almost five years after the end of the war, the Russians retain 450,000 Japanese prisoners of war inside the Soviet Far East is one indication of their critical need

We can be sure that if Japan comes within the Soviet orbit the Soviets will provide a solution for Japan's population problem: forced mass migration of Japanese to the Soviet Far East, to Manchuria and to North Korea. Geopolitically, the over-population of Japan is playing indirectly into the hands of Soviet imperalist strategy in the Far East.

Japan's population problem must be dealt with realistically by the United Nations, for it demands a practical and real solution. It is a world problem. MacArthur can do little unless it is raised to the global level. If we are to avoid another major débâcle in the Far East, the Japanese population problem must be dealt with, and now.

In the confusion of charges and countercharges regarding the position of the Catholic Church on social and industrial questions, the Holy Father's address to the International Union of Catholic Employers on May 7 comes as a welcome clarification. AMERICA's industrialrelations Editor analyzes the solient points of the address.

Pius XII talks to Catholic employers

Benjamin L. Masse

N ONE OF HIS most important pronouncements on economic problems, the Holy Father has just made it clear that the encyclical letter Quadragesimo Anno, published by his predecessor on May 15, 1931, remains the basis of the Church's program for social reform.

That is the meaning of the address he gave at the Vatican on May 7 to 400 delegates of the International Union of Catholic Employers.

After a few preliminary remarks welcoming the delegates, who were holding their international convention in Rome, the Holy Father came quickly to the point. Referring to postwar strife between workers and employers, he said:

Mistaken and disastrous in its consequences is the prejudice, alas! too widely held, which sees in these problems an irreducible clash of rival interests. The opposition is only apparent. In the economic domain, management and labor are linked in a community of action and interest. To disregard this mutual bond, to strive to break it, can only betray a pretension to blind and preposterous despotism. Employers and workers are not implacable adversaries. They are cooperators in a common task. They eat, so to speak, at the same table, seeing that they must live, in the last analysis, from the gross or net profits of the

Since their interest in a healthy economy is common, the Holy Father continued, "why should it not manifest itself in a common outward expression? Why should it not be allowable to assign to the workers a just share of responsibility in the establishment and development of the

He reminded his audience that Pope Pius XI had suggested "a practical and timely prescription" for giving concrete realization to the mutuality of interest between workers and employers. His formula, first recommended in Quadragesimo Anno and later on stressed in the encyclical on communism, Divini Redemptoris, was the establishing of self-governing occupational groups in all sectors of industry. In the following passage, Pope Pius XII not merely emphasized (as he had done on several other occasions since the war, notably in his letter to the Semaines Sociales of France in 1946) that there had been no change in Rome on the occupational-group system, but indicated that Rome was none too happy over the way in which Catholics had reacted to this key papal proposal. Here are the Holy Father's words:

Our Predecessor of imperishable memory, Pius XI, had suggested the practical and timely prescription for this community of interest in the nation's economic enterprise when he recommended in his encyclical Quadragesimo Anno "occupational organization" for the various branches of production. Nothing indeed appeared to him more suited to bring economic liberalism under control than the enactment, for the social economy, of a public-law statute based precisely on the common responsibility which is shared by all those who take part in production. This feature of the encyclical stirred up a host of objections. Some saw in it a concession to modern political trends, while for others it meant a return to the Middle Ages. It would have been incomparably more sensible to lay aside the flimsy prejudices of the past and to get down to work sincerely and cour-

national economy?"

AMERICA MAY 28, 1949

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ageously to make the proposal, with its many prac-

tical applications, a living reality.

That statement is so unambiguous that it scarcely needs further unfolding. It might be interesting, however, to note whose knuckles the Holy Father rapped. The "some" who interpreted the vocational-group proposal as an expedient gesture toward contemporary political fashions are those who identified it with Mussolini's corporate state. The Holy Father probably also had in mind certain trade unionists who, though admitting the distinction between state and society, thought it a hopeless task to make the distinction clear to non-Catholic workers. Feeling that Quadragesimo Anno had become irretrievably confused with fascist corporativism, they abandoned the occupational-group system for a program of socialization.

At the other extreme were the economic liberals still wedded to the exaggerated individualism of nineteenth-century capitalism. They were the ones who thought that Pius XI was trying to turn the clock back to the Middle Ages. Reflecting views prevalent in business circles, they saw in the organized coooperation postulated by the vocational-group system the antithesis of a system of free, competitive enterprise.

It is also worth noting that the Holy Father referred to both viewpoints as "flimsy prejudices of the past," which implies a low estimate of their intellectual content.

After this strong restatement of Quadragesimo Anno, the Pope talked to the employers about two problems which have become the subject of discussion and controversy all over the world: public ownership of industry and the participation of workers in management.

The question of public ownership he had dealt with twice before, in an address to a group of Italian workers on March 11, 1945, and in the letter to the Semaines Sociales mentioned above. On the former occasion he said:

The Catholic associations of workers support socialization only in cases where it appears really necessary for the common welfare; in other words, when it is the only means to remedy an injustice and to ensure the coordinated use of the same forces to the benefit of the economic life of the nation, so that the normal and peaceful development of that economic life may open the gates to material prosperity for all, a prosperity which may become a sound foundation for the development of cultural and religious life.

In the letter to the Semaines Sociales, July 29, 1946, the Holy Father wrote:

Our predecessors, and We Ourselves, have more than once touched on the moral aspect of that measure [nationalization]. But it is, however, evident that, instead of diminishing the mechanistic character of life and labor in common, nationalization, even when it is licit, is rather in danger of further accentuating it, and that, in consequence, the advantage which nationization brings to the profit of a true community, such as you understand it, is very much to be judged with care.

In his address to the Catholic employers, the Holy Father once more restated the Church's position. Very probably he did so not because Catholics are any longer confused on the issue but because "feverish attempts" are being made right now to promote state enterprise. Tracing the footsteps of Pius XI, He said:

There can be no question that the Church also admits—within certain just limits—state ownership and management, judging that "certain forms of property may legitimately be reserved to the public authority: those which represent a dominating power so great that it cannot without danger to the general welfare be entrusted to private individuals" (Quadragesimo Anno).

What the Church objects to—on moral grounds—is the attempt to make of state enterprise "the normal rule for public economic organization." This, the Holy Father explained, would reverse the natural order of things. "The economy," he emphasized, "is not of its nature—not more, for that matter, than any other human activity—a state institution. It is, on the contrary, the living product of the free initiative of individuals and of their freely established associations."



From a moral standpoint the nature of the worker's right to participate in the life of a business is probably a more difficult question than that of public ownership. In Quadragesimo Anno Pope Pius XI thought it "more advisable" that the wage contract, though not of its nature unjust, should be "somewhat modified by a partner-

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ship contract." By this means workers would become "sharers in ownership or management or participate in some fashion in the profits received."

That recommendation led to considerable discussion among Catholic social thinkers. Apparently the present Holy Father deemed it opportune at this time to point out certain applications of the teaching which cannot be reconciled with the private character of ownership and business enterprise.

He warned, in the first place, against applying in a too sweeping way the virtue of distributive justice to the personnel relationships of every particular business enterprise. Assuming that every business is of its nature a society, some have argued that all connected with it, whether owners or not, are entitled in distributive justice "to their share in the property, or at least in the profits" of the enterprise. This contention the Holy Father rejected. He told his employer audience that it was based on the "inexact" assumption that every business belongs to the sphere of public law.

In the second place, while, by implication, praising "shared responsibility," he set the limits beyond which the workers, in justice, have no right to go. I quote him:

The owner of the means of production, whoever he be—individual owner, workers' association or corporation—must always, within the limits of public economic law, retain control of his economic decisions.

There may be some question about the meaning of "economic decisions." The Holy Father did not go into detail. In view of recent discussions in Catholic circles, notably in Belgium, it would seem that this phrase cer-

tainly covers decisions on investment, prices, unit profit margins and dividends. On such matters the workers have at most a right to a consultative voice. The final decision rests with the employer. This distinction between the "economic" and "non-economic" decisions of management has actually been written into the new Belgian law on industrial organization. Non-economic decisions affect such factors as social security, vacations, working conditions, etc.

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Nor does it make any difference whether the employer is a corporation or an individual. Some Catholic thinkers have been wondering out loud whether the concept of private property is "univocal," as philosophy textbooks presume, or "analogical"; whether, that is, the phrase, private property, ought to be used in the same sense for property managed by the individual or family which owns it, and for property held in corporate form in which ownership is divorced from responsibility. The Holy Father would seem to have decided that so far as worker participation in management's "economic decisions" is concerned, the distinction has no validity. Has it validity for other aspects of the labor-management relationship?

Several years ago a report of the Semaines Sociales asserted that workers had a right to share in management, at least in corporations which are not family-owned. To safeguard unity of direction, without which no business can be efficiently managed, the report insisted that this association between labor and management should not compromise the authority of the head of the corporation. What it proposed was that "the executive authority which has the appointment of such heads of industry must comprise representatives of both labor and capital, while still preserving a place for the founders and originators of the enterprise." Some influential leaders of Christian trade unions have advocated a similar set-up. They want unions to have a voice, through membership on the board of directors, in selecting the top management. Once selected, the management would be completely free to run the company for the good of all concerned. Are these approaches to labor participation in management now to be considered out of bounds? At the very least, unless I misread it, the text of the Holy Father's address casts doubt on them. This capital point requires, and no doubt will receive, further clarification.

Yet the Pope wants the workers to have "a just share of responsibility in the establishment and development of the national economy." Presumably they would exercise this responsibility through collective bargaining, through participation in the non-economic decisions of management, through membership in occupational groups and, gradually, through ownership of capital. This last means the Holy Father mentioned explicitly in his address to the Catholic employers.

One major controversy he left unresolved. For some time interpreters of *Quadragesimo Anno* have been divided over whether or not the vocational groups should have power to fix prices. They can continue to argue. The Holy Father did not even mention the problem.

OUR ASSOCIATES

A HIGH-SCHOOL PRINCIPAL who was one of the first to become a Sustaining (\$25) Associate of AMERICA wrote us recently as follows:

I have just reread part of a letter from a nephew of mine who is at present studying in a house of philosophy of the Jesuit Order. He writes: "AMERICA is the best spark for an intelligent and élite Christian movement like the Associates. . . . These Associates, who previously have lacked mere organization, are the germ of something bigger than AMERICA itself. Do the editors see this? Do you?"

I don't know. It may be the spring weather with the sap rising; or it may be that germ my nephew mentioned beginning to sprout. At any rate, I wish to withdraw the application I filed last Monday. I wish to substitute for it the enclosed application for a Charter membership (\$100).

In reply to the unnamed nephew, we editors can say that we are beginning to see quite clearly what we discerned dimly before—that America's Associates is the germ of something big—a big America whose national influence is big. We do not, however, want America's Associates bigger than America; in fact we do not want to separate them at all. We desire rather to draw them together into a potent unity. We want to unite our editorial staff and America's Associates into an active and effective unit whose joint and responsive instrument is the magazine America.

A widow who works nine hours a day as a secretary to support twin boys 11 years of age sent us her enlistment as a Cooperating Associate after overcoming the temptation to invest the tenner in a new hat.

One of New York's Finest has offered to organize a group of policemen into a Corporate Associate.

We count on such people to put AMERICA'S ASSOCIATES across. May we count on you to join us by using the membership blank below?

AMERICA'S ASSOCIATES

Please enlist me as America's Associate for the	e next year.
As a Cooperating Associate, \$10	☐ Will Send Later
As a Sustaining Associate, \$25	OF
As a Charter Associate, \$100 or over	Check Attached
(Please make checks payable to AMERICA	A'S ASSOCIATES)
NAME	
DDRESS	

Note: AMERICA'S ASSOCIATES receive AMERICA, The National Catholic Weekly. \$6.00 of your membership will be for a one year's subscription, new, or an extension if you are a subscriber. The balance will be devoted to the educational and field work of The associates. (Any Amount Over \$6.00 is deductible from income tax.)

Hollywood letter

Anyone who has been a spectator at a small Balkan war ought to feel pretty much at home in Hollywood these days. The economic gloom is thicker than stroganov, and economic skirmishes are developing on virtually every border. Hollywood finds itself peering into the cold, hard faces of a number of forces which seem set to do serious battle.

That isn't a good feeling here in the marble halls of this queen city of flashing teeth, beach houses, two-Cadillac garages and Palm Springs tans. Life in this tinseled Mecca has been generous for nearly a decade, yielding a flow of box-office gold that has served as a wonderful analgesic for all sorts of indulgences.

But right now official viewing-with-alarm has reached a new intensity. On all sides you can see whirlpools of tension in practically any size and emotion. Take your choice: brave optimism, unbridled pessimism, sodden hope, despair with or without redemption. Hollywood, always partial to happy endings, bitterly feels that these forces are out to accomplish permanent harm, with the result that film-makers are, like Miney Mo in the Rootabaga Stories, "all mixed up inside with wishes and suspicions."

For months the industry has fretted over the British dollar plug. The harsh restrictions have frozen vast sums of American-owned monies in England and elsewhere, and complicated both planning and exhibition of films in those countries. Producers, generally a pretty patient lot, now are yelling hotly for an embargo on the shipment of American films to foreign shores. Political aspects aside, this extreme measure might work, but it would require something which Hollywood has rarely accomplished, namely, unanimous action.

The British bull isn't the only one in filmdom's china shop. A brash newcomer, Television, is chilling any number of executive spines. Here, too, you can have your choice of judgments, ranging from "Television can never hurt the films" to "The motion picture as a profitable enterprise is dead." Probably the most significant comment was voiced by Barney Balaban, the estimable and normally noncommittal head of Paramount Pictures, Inc. As he put it recently to a gathering of studio executives: "The honeymoon, gentlemen, is over."

Nor have the jitters been helped by the Federal Government's anti-trust campaign, aimed at divorcing the production of films from their exhibition. Two companies, RKO and Paramount, have signed up. Paramount has already agreed to give up its 1,450 movie theatres—largest chain in the country. Resistance to the so-called consent decree, however, is developing among other major studios, notably Warners and 20th Century-Fox, who say they are going to fight in an effort to escape the grave effects this sort of decapitation would work on the corporate structure.

Some observers view the government decree as a death decree for the studios. Tom Brady of the New York Times' Hollywood office feels that "the truly profitable side of the business—the exhibition of films—is in the

LITERATURE AND ARTS

process of being divorced from the unprofitable sideproduction."

Adding to local insomnia is the fact that the line-up of customers at the box-office over the country is perceptibly shorter. This would seem to mean that movies are among the first items to feel consumer resistance to luxuries. Oddly enough, the break in film receipts came during the most profitable year in history for the profitmakers in most lines of industry. The recession hasn't dimmed Sam Goldwyn's spirit. "I don't care whether my pictures make money," he commented, "just so everybody sees them."

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To say all this has bred uncertainty in Hollywood is to put it mildly. There has been a wave of economies, spearheaded by what amounts to wholesale discharge of personnel, new and old, technical and creative. For the first time, studios are peering behind departmental curtains to see what is really going on. The situation is mildly reflected in the remark of a producer when he saw an assistant chasing a moth caught in the beam of an arc light. "Stop!" he cried, "you're trying to kill the only thing on the set that's not under contract."

No one quite knows how to explain the near hysteria that has marked the wave of economies which set in nearly a year ago and is still in progress. Television is giving the industry pause. Others fear a return to the depression box-office or the possibility of a third world war. Some producers secretly feel that the unions are to blame, that the crafts have a paralyzing hold on film production, forcing the studios to accept labor in such numbers that needless thousands of dollars are added to already over-loaded budgets. The Motion Picture Industry Council, official voice of the industry, recently declared: "The greatest unemployment in the history of Hollywood is due in large part to the discriminatory trade barriers set up by the British Government."

There is another worry, probably more basic, which has been only whispered in the quiet plush of inner offices, namely, the possibility that people's tastes are changing, and Hollywood must therefore revamp its approach to the presentation of stories. For months there have been conferences on this topic among upper-drawer executives. Another worrisome charge: a drop in the quality of films.

The fact that Hollywood is lying awake nights worrying about these things is regarded not only as a good but unusual sign. Soul-searching hasn't been one of Hollywood's strong points in the past. One need think back only a decade when the standard references were to the "madmen of Hollywood," "illiterate egomaniacs" employing wild, inorganic techniques in the operation of a business that spent \$250 million a year.

The madness, you can bet, is largely gone. The last few years have witnessed a measurable change in internal management, sound principles being substituted for razzmatazz techniques. No one with less than a sturdy heart would dare write off Hollywood as a going concern or an established art form. There are too many talented people out here and too many millions of Americans who have made movie-going a part of living.

These are fine guarantees but they, too, can fall before mediocrity brought on by improvidence in management or chicanery in human relations, an art already too well practised here. Even today many a banker here will tell you Hollywood is guilty of "short term" practices, too much angling for a quick profit and too little planning for the long haul. Who knows what the current crisis will bring—warmer management-employe relations, paring down of astronomical star salaries, lower admission prices? At any rate, the melodrama you're seeing on the neighborhood screen is pale stuff compared with the stirrings of reality in Hollywood these days.

PHIL A. KOURY

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THE HISTORY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH

By Jules Lebreton, S.J., and Jacques Zeiller. Macmillan. Translated by Fr. Ernest C. Messenger, Ph.D. II Vols. 1272p. \$16.50.

The primary and secondary sources of church history have multiplied so rapidly in recent decades that even a Baronius, a Natalis Alexander, a Fleury, an Orsi or a Pastor, could hardly hope to master them sufficiently to attempt a really comprehensive history of the Church. In Church history, therefore, as in world history, the years to come will doubtless witness a continuing trend towards collective works written by groups of experts, none of whom could hope, individually, to master the whole historical field.

An outstanding example of such a collective work is to be found in the Histoire de l'Eglise which the French publishers, Bloud and Gay, have been presenting to their readers since 1934. When complete, it will consist of not less than twenty-four large volumes designed to cover the whole of Church history from its beginning to our own day. The work has been entrusted to general editorship of Monsieur Augustin Fliche, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at Montpellier, and Msgr. Victor Martin, Dean of the Faculty of Catholic Theology at Strasbourg, who have enlisted more than thirty of Europe's most eminent Catholic historians to assist them in their arduous task.

The preparation of each volume has been assigned to competent specialists in the field, thus ensuring that the whole work will maintain the highest scientific standards. Despite delays caused by the war in Europe, nine volumes have already appeared and have been acclaimed by historians throughout the world. As might have been expected, these volumes are not entirely free from the overlapping, the repetition and the

occasional disagreement that are inevitable in such collective undertakings; but these disadvantages are more than counterbalanced by the fact that every phase of the Church's history is adequately treated with the objectivity, the scholarship and the detailed knowledge of the sources that only a specialist can provide.

It was only to be expected that there would be a widespread demand for an English version of so valuable a work, and Dr. Messenger has rendered a great service to Catholic scholarship by undertaking this formidable task, the first portion of which he has executed so brilliantly. He has wisely decided to break up the monumental Histoire into a group of several distinct works, each with a title of its own to indicate that it is a complete unit in itself. Thus, The History of The Primitive Church corresponds to the first two volumes of the French original. These two volumes are the joint work of two writers whose names are synonymous with the finest Catholic scholarship in France: Père Jules Lebreton, S.J., Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the Institut Catholique in Paris, and Monsieur Jacques Zeiller, Director of Studies at the Ecole des Hautes-Etudes (Sorbonne). They narrate the story of the Church from its institution by Jesus Christ down to the Peace of Constantine in 312.

Père Lebreton is especially concerned with the internal life of the Church. His aim is to manifest the inner spirit of Christianity as revealed in the public life of Christ; in the preaching of Peter, Paul, James, John and the other Apostles; in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists; in the struggle with Gnosticism, Marcionism, Montanism and other early heresies; and in the first attempts at a systematic exposition of theology by Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria and Origen.

Monsieur Zeiller deals rather with the external life of the Church. He describes its missionary activity for the conversion of Jew and Gentile; its

BOOKS

gradual spread from Jerusalem and Palestine to, and even beyond, the remotest boundaries of the Roman Empire; its organization in the larger cities under a triple hierarchy of bishops, priests and deacons, all subject to the supreme jurisdiction of the successors of St. Peter in the See of Rome. He treats the daily life of the early Christians and their relations with their pagan and Jewish neighbors; and, finally, the ten great persecutions whereby the Roman emperors sought to destroy the Church of Christ, until at last, in the person of Constantine, they confessed themselves defeated and acknowledged the Church's victory by the Edict of Milan.

Between them, these two learned authors present a complete and wellrounded picture of every phase of the Church's history during this most interesting and important period. Their work is intended primarily for students, for whom it provides a copious supply of accurate and reliable information, with abundant indications of the most trustworthy sources in which they may find a more detailed treatment of any topic in which they are particularly interested. However, the scholarly apparatus is relegated to the frequent bibliographies, the numerous footnotes and the highly detailed table of contents and index, so that the general reader will find it easy and delightful to read the text of this true story of the Church's youth.

Beautifully bound and printed, these two volumes will delight the eye of the most discriminating book-lover. They deserve the widest possible circulation and we hope that, in spite of their prohibitive price, they will find an honored place in every Catholic library.

JOHN J. HEALY, S.J.

THE PASSION OF THE INFANT CHRIST

By Caryll Houselander. Sheed & Ward. 143p. \$1.75

Taking as her theme the Divine Infancy as that part of Our Lord's life most applicable to the present needs of mankind, Miss Houselander develops her thesis with the charm of a poet and the insight of a deeply sensitive and thoughtful Christian.

Nn doubt the plight of the orphaned children of Europe, some of whom she has been teaching, suggested the series of meditations on the Infancy. She states the problem thus:

What, we ask ourselves, have we ever done to help, say, one persecuted child in the misery of Europe? Of what smallest use to the multitudes of the needy are our lives? Of what use are they at all, to anyone, these little circumscribed lives, consisting of doing the same meaningless things every day, for the same number of monotonous hours, winding up with the same frustrating weariness and drowsiness every night?

Her solution is that of St. Theresa of Lisieux, the solution found in the Infant Jesus. "If the Infant Christ is fostered in us, then through those sufferings which seem so small because we are so small, we are lifted up with the Crucified Christ." For Bethlehem, as she tries to demonstrate, is a sort of "inscape" of Calvary, repeating a word coined by Gerard Manley Hopkins. The poverty, obedience and love of Calvary are all foreshadowed by Bethlehem. In cataloging the parallels between Bethlehem and the the Passion, Miss Houselander here and there strains a point, yet the

essential unity of Christ's whole life cannot be denied, nor is it surprising that He willed that certain harbingers of his departure from this earth should grace His coming to us.

Using the allegory of the winter seed and quiet growth, she speaks eloquently of the fruitfulness under preparation in the Child's rest in the womb, in his Mother's arms, in the tomb and in the Host. So, too. He is incarnated and rests in our souls.

The little persecuted countries of Europe Miss Houselander views as "Bethlehems." Herod had ordered the children to be killed because he was afraid that any one of them might be Christ.

Any child might be Christ; yes, and Herod in his attempt to destroy that one Child, to eradicate the threat of the Infant from his nation, baptized a host of children in their own blood and made a legion of little "Christs," who should come unseen with heavenly weapons, flocking to the tattered and blood-soaked standard of innocence through all the ages of mankind.

"And on earth," she reminds us, "the answer to Herod is still the Incarnation; still the birth of the Infant Christ, the life of the world in the least and the littlest." The answer to the Herods of our day is St. Theresa's "little way of spiritual childhood," which is "the oneing of the soul with God, in the passion of the Infant Christ."

Throughout, the author beautifully senses the harmonies of nature and supernature. Several of her paragraphs, though somewhat detached from the main theme, stand by themselves as little masterpieces, blossom-like miniatures of ascetical teaching.

CLIFFORD M. LEWIS, S.J.

spaghetti and simple girls and attacks on the Pulitzer Prize Committee—and, most importantly, a steady income to sustain him while his first novels sold very slowly. of

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Arundel—nine months in the writing at 1500 words a day—sold about 9,000 copies the first year. His diary notes, filling pages 200 to 340, describe in great detail the difficulties and labors in writing his novels, the number of words per day, his jaundiced view of best-sellers, his affliction with some tropical disease. It takes ten pages to list the letters he wrote in 1935. Without the diary this section would probably have been written as interestingly as the rest of the book; certainly Booth Tarkington would have excised many of these notes.

The diary section is, however, important for showing the constant rewriting and correction to which Roberts subjected his books, under the ever more demanding criticism of Booth Tarkington, his close friend. It also brings out the passion for historical accuracy which sent him checking countless histories, searching archives, even old attics, gathering maps and letters, hiring people to hunt through the English Public Record Office, tracing the tiniest clue to make his story authentic. The documentation for Arundel alone was worth publishing as March to Quebec. It is evident that Oliver Wiswell, Captain Caution, Rabble in Arms are not only great stories, but tirelessly authenticated histories. Cap Huff-Roberts' great comic creation-the amazing Rogers, or Sally Leighton, cost him weeks and months of research. Even the recipe for buttered rum or the deck pendulum used for accurate shooting was apparently verified.

An Appendix of 90 pages contains special letters, reviews and several reprints of Roberts' articles dealing with diverse subjects, from Booth Tarkington to the best recipe for country-style gnocchi.

T. J. M. BURKE

Travails of an Author

I WANTED TO WRITE

By Kenneth Roberts. Doubleday. 471p. \$3.50

A very anxious mother once asked Booth Tarkington to dissuade her son from a writing career, because she wanted her son to "do" something. That writing is "doing" something is proved by this autobiographical sketch of Kenneth Roberts, the successful author of Northwest Passage, Lydia Bailey, Oliver Wiswell.

The most interesting part of the book describes Mr. Roberts' early work as a Boston *Post* reporter, when he carried a green baize bag "stuffed with Ginters' Rye, early pink Bermuda potatoes, a bunch of Jersey asparagus, a nice little scrod, and a copy of Charles Stuart Calverley's poems" and looked

like any respectable Boston lawyer or banker or safecracker returning to his adoring family with Important Papers. At the Hattie Le Blanc murder trial a very large reporter from the Boston American blocked his view of the witness stand; it was Ben Ames Williams, who thirty years later helped him with Lydia Bailey. Roberts found working in the same office as Olin Downes, who would rehash the orchestration after a concert with metronome and mumblings, as comfortable as working beside "an old Dutch windmill engaged in pulverizing flint corn."

After intelligence work with the Siberian Expeditionary Force, Mr. Roberts toured Europe for Lorimer of the Saturday Evening Post, later becoming Washington correspondent. From this association with Lorimer came a steady flow of articles on world problems and personalities as well as recipes for

FRANCE PAGAN?

By Maisie Ward. Sheed & Ward. 243p.

When Maisie Ward visited France recently to study the work of re-Christianization, she heard the name of Abbé Henri Godin all about her. Comparatively unknown outside of Christian circles in France, Abbé Henri Godin, the author of France, pays de mission?—a report on conditions written at the request of Cardinal Suhard which has sold 100,000 copies abroad—died in January, 1944 before his thirty-eighth birthday.

Mrs. Ward's book is made up of three distinct but overlapping sections. The first part is an informal biography

of the missionary-priest himself, based on information about him from priests and laymen, while the second is a translation of his best-known study: France, pays de mission?, re-arranged, however, in a more orderly fashion than the original French version which, having been written at odd moments by the over-burdened priest, would have been too disjointed a set of documents to translate in their original sequence. In the concluding portion of her book, Mrs. Ward attempts an evaluation of the Christian movement as interpreted in the light of both research and firsthand observations of conditions in present-day France.

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Amid the somewhat confusing aspects of the volume—with its pictures of priests, workmen, paganism and poverty, its anecdotes and examples of pagan living and difficulties of missionary work—one element is outstanding: the rôle of the priest and the difficulty of constructing Catholic communities in the world of today with its worship of money and its ceaseless quest for pleasure.

From various bits of information collected in her conversations with French priests, from the unpublished works of Father Godin as well as from periodical literature, Mrs. Ward has written her chapters: "Into the Proletariat,"
"Teams of Laywomen" and "Priest-Workman," while seeking to evaluate the real success of the missionary movement in France. To American readers, such facts as priests wearing lay clothes and working in factories, saying Mass in the evenings in workers' homes or facing their congregation while saying Mass, will be new. Perhaps the most dramatic example of the vitality of France as a land of missionaries is the meeting of parishes in the Stadium at Colombes in 1946-a manifestation of Catholic unity in the Paris area with 200 parish priests at 200 altars celebrating Mass for 100,000 worshippers.

The recent election returns in France and the political scene indicate a recession of the communist advance. The work of priests such as Abbé Godin toward the re-Christianization of the population in workers' circles has undoubtedly played its part, perhaps a not inconsiderable one.

PIERRE COURTINES

THE MOST REVEREND FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, THIRD BISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA, 1830-1851.

By Hugh J. Nolan. American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. 502p. \$5

The subject of this biography was one of the most versatile and accomplished American prelates of the nineteenth century. Born in Dublin, he completed

his education in Rome, and came to the United States at the age of twenty-four to serve on the faculty of Saint Joseph's Seminary, Bardstown, Kentucky. In 1830 he was consecrated bishop and, as Coadjutor-Administrator, was charged with the government of the Diocese of Philadelphia, then disrupted by clerical and lay intransigence.

During the following two decades, first as Administrator and later in his own right, Bishop Kenrick quietly but efficiently restored peace and order, fostered the development of charitable, educational and religious institutions, and piloted the Church in Philadelphia through one of the most virulent manifestations of religious intolerance ever to afflict an American city. With the passing of years he came to take an increasingly important part in the deliberations of the American bishops and in negotiations with the Holy See. In 1851 he was promoted to the Archepiscopal See of Baltimore, which he governed until his death in 1863.



Despite these activities, Francis Kenrick managed to publish seven volumes of theology in Latin, several volumes of doctrinal exposition in English and a new English translation of the entire New Testament and of selected books of the Old Testament.

The major portion of Father Nolan's volume is devoted to a delineation of Kenrick's activities during the twenty-one years between his arrival in Philadelphia and his promotion to Baltimore. The material for the story of these years has been drawn almost exclusively from primary sources, both printed and manuscript. With true historical perspective the author has correlated the currents of his subject's career with the religious and secular environment of his time. In so doing he has greatly enhanced the interest and value of the volume.

The reader will find here succinct but well-integrated accounts of politico-ecclesiastical affairs in the Ireland of Kenrick's youth, and of the contrasting schools of theological speculation which left their impress so markedly on the subsequent opinions of Francis Patrick Kenrick and his brother, Peter Richard, Archbishop of Saint Louis, concerning the then undefined matter of papal in-

fallibility. He will find here, too, a lucid exposition of the issues and personalities involved in the contentions that had afflicted the Church in Philadelphia for two decades prior to Kenrick's arrival as Administrator.

Similarly, the account of the growth of anti-Catholic feeling in Philadelphia and its culmination in the Nativist riots of 1844 is the best yet to appear in print. The pages dealing with this unhappy instance of group violence reveal a note of arresting modernity. The traditional bogies of the ill-disposed and the ill-informed, particularly in the matter of education, appear in the writings and speeches of these times with a sonorousness tiresomely similar to that which characterizes their repetition a century later.

Father Nolan's volume will reward all thoughtful readers with the light it casts on an important and little understood period of American Catholic history. By the inclusion of a generous selection from the correspondence that passed between Kenrick and his contemporaries in the hierarchy, the author has provided an intimate view of the issues then engaging the attention of the leaders of the Church in the United States. No measure of rewriting or synopsizing could convey the insight afforded by these letters into the workings of strong minds grappling with problems of grave moment.

This work will undoubtedly find a place among the still meager number of indispensable volumes on American Catholic history. No student of American religious development can afford to neglect its contributions. The volume is provided with a serviceable index, a bibliographical note descriptive of the archival collections from which material has been extracted, and a formal bibliography listing, among other items, a large number of rare and not easily accessible titles in the field of American Church history. A number of the more significant of Kenrick's pastoral letters are reprinted in the Appendix.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR

PORTRAIT IN TWO COLOURS

By Stuart B. Jackman. Scribner's. 188p. \$2.75

Simon Calder was studying in Edinburgh for the ministry at the war's outbreak. He and a medical student, Tony, shared comfortable rooms and discussed life, the existence of the soul and the validity of religious faith, and watched the other students go off to training camps. Tony was skeptical, pragmatic, yet seemed to know precisely where he was going, and told Simon he was silly to want to be a preacher. Simon, however, felt sure of himself then, and knew most of the proper an-



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swers to such friendly scoffing. Yet the simple fact of the war disturbed his complacency even before he finally realized he had to join up, if for no other reason than to share the experiences of his future parishioners.

He lived through the brief training period, survived the hellish horrors of four months on troop ships to Africa, and endured more than three years of grueling desert-patrol duty, driving supply trucks. During all the monotonous stifling days of heat and blinding sunlight and dangers of Bedouin banditry by night, he and all his comrades dreamed their own dreams of home.

But when Simon came home, finally, home was not as he had dreamed it. The gap of the war years did not close over and heal without trace. They left a painful scar, like the burn on his hand, which had almost cost him his right arm—a burn he suffered when changing a blazing tire on that last desperate patrol when Alan died.

In a sensitive, almost brilliant and certainly penetrating novel of brief intensity, this British author attempts to tell of the war in terms of its twisting wrench on the lives of those who survived. Simon Calder's story may be that of Stuart Jackman; the author's own experiences at least parallel those of the man he writes about.

The problem of a fundamental philosophy and faith is presented obliquely; and the answer to it, as Simon Calder recovers his peace of mind, is rather hinted at than stated. In any event, it is at least a tangential defense of the innate dignity of man, and is well worth reading; for it is, in its way, a quite successful small masterpiece, of admirable restraint and insight.

R. F. GRADY

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

By Paul C. Bartholomew. Wm. C. Brown Co. Dubuque, Iowa. 369p. \$3.25

For some years, the numerous learned volumes published on American government (and they have indeed been numerous) have approached this fascinating and important subject from one or another of two basic points of view. One is called the "structural" approach, in which the organization and the emphasis are placed upon governmental machinery. The other, known as the "functional" approach, gives major consideration to services and activities of government rather than to its structural characteristics. Both points of view are, of course, meritorious; both structure and function need to be analyzed in any well-rounded treatment of American government. It is, however, not too satisfactory to have one

of these two aspects of our political institutions slighted at the expense of the other.

It is therefore refreshing to be able to report that Professor Bartholomew of the Department of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame has produced, in the volume under review, a happy synthesis of the structural and functional approaches to the study of American government. He has done so, in the main, by developing the subject from the viewpoint of the Constitution. Certainly, there is no better basis on which to build an analysis of the organization and operation of our democratic political institutions than the "supreme law of the land," the Constitution itself.

As Doctor Bartholomew points out, our present ignorance of the Constitution is profound indeed. In a poll taken just a few years ago, it was revealed that over sixty per cent of the adult American population had no adequate concept of either the contents or the legal basis of the so-called Bill of Rights. Such ignorance could be reduced or even eliminated by wider use of such a book as Bartholomew's American Government under the Constitution.

The book, a revision of an original edition in 1947, has three main divisions. The first part involves the major points of historical background, the fundamental principles of our constitutional scheme of government, and a brief analysis of the role of political parties in its operation. The second part, to which the bulk of attention is devoted, is given to a searching analysis of the Constitution itself, clause by clause, from the Preamble through the Twenty-First Amendment. The analysis is never dull. It is interpolated with adequate references to court decisions and other interpretations of the meaning of various clauses in the Constitution. Particularly interesting to this reviewer are those sections dealing with the judiciary, interstate relations and the Bill of Rights.

An added feature of real value to the student of American government is the information in the appendicesnot only the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, which are readily available, but also the less generally accessible Articles of Confederation, along with the Randolph and Paterson Plans, which were basic to the work of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. There is also included a political vocabulary, a glossary of terms widely used but not so widely understood. Because of these many noteworthy features, Dr. Bartholomew's book merits wide distribution, both as a textbook and as desirable reading for the general public.

PAUL G. STEINBICKER

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By Quentin Reynolds. Random House. 341p. \$3.50

During 1948, apparently on a roving assignment for Collier's magazine, Quentin Reynolds visited half a dozen foreign countries—Israel, Italy, Greece, France, the Netherlands, Germany and Norway. Leave It to the People is an account of his journeyings and of his personal reactions to what he saw and heard.

The final result is entertaining and, occasionally, informative. If there is a central theme to the book, it is an elusive one, although it is quite clear that Reynolds felt he was writing a report on how the citizens of these states reacted in 1948 to the conflict between communism and democracy. He concludes on an optimistic note: "I believe that the spirit of democracy in Europe is stronger, more active and militant, than ever before."

Without questioning the accuracy of Mr. Reynolds' judgments, it may fairly be said that his report is not in itself convincing. The evidence he presents is altogether too fragmentary and anecdotal to serve as the basis for reasoned conclusions. It may be that the author spent most of his time talking to "the little people" (to borrow a phrase from the book's jacket) but, if this is so, his text does not manifest the fact. The individuals quoted directly or indirectly in its pages are for the most part people in positions of large responsibility or those set apart from the rank and file by special circumstances of one type or another.

The most instructive portion of the book is that dealing with Israel, approximately one-third of the whole. Here Reynolds concerns himself less with the trivial than he does in other portions. Even so, his treatment is not (and does not even profess to be) more than a discussion of the spirit of the people.

He considers but one side of the Arab-Jewish problem, but does succeed in developing a certain perspective on political differences within the Jewish community. Here, too, however, there is some reason to question the accuracy of his conclusions.

Evidently Reynolds set out hopefully to visit those areas which might be expected to produce events of newsworthy significance. In Israel his expectations were partially realized.

The reader closes the book with the same feeling that Mr. Reynolds obviously experienced when, in Norway, he chucked the whole trip overboard, utilized considerable influence to secure a last-minute reservation on a plane for New York, and "headed for the World Series."

JOHN MENG

NEW DAY

By V. S. Reid. Knopf. 374p. \$3

John Campbell was a boy in 1865 when the Morant Bay Rebellion took place. And it wasn't until 1944 when a "new day" dawned that the people of Jamaica had their first real fruits of victory—a constitution which granted them at least partial independence and selfgovernment.

In the intervening years John Campbell—a Negro who tells the story in the first person—saw more death and destruction than most men know exist. He saw, as a direct result of the Rebellion, the ruthless murder of his peace-

loving and idealistic father, the murder of his oldest brother, the death of his mother and sister. A few years later another brother, Davie, also met an untimely death; his sister-in-law was burned to death and his baby nephew became his responsibility. The nephew was scarcely old enough to be grown and married and have a child of his own when both he and his wife died in an epidemic. Therefore John had a new charge. So it goes. The hand of death and calamity hangs heavily over the pages of this moving book and a lesser man than John would never have been able to withstand the onslaught of

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OLDER GIRLS: Rebel and the Turncoat Malcolm Decker Whittlesey House. \$2.50 hardship, sorrow and pain, John is still a spry and optimistic man amazing his grandnephew with his ability to get around. Since nearly all the characters who met such violent deaths were married and since John remained a bachelor—as well as remaining alive and healthy—one cannot help but speculate over the possibility of a connection, however remote.

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There is one complaint I should like to register and that is the fact that the book is completely in dialect. I do not think the Jamaican dialect is without its poetry, without its beauty, but 374 pages of it palls both on the ears and nerves. The dialog could well take care of the poetry and beauty, as it does. A few years ago when Mari Sandoz wrote her fine biography of the great Sioux chief, Crazy Horse, she used dialect throughout. And here, too, although there were many expressions of real and simple beauty, the impact of so much dialect tended to ruin the effect.

This criticism excluded, Mr. Reid—a native of Jamaica—has done an excellent job and has written a thoroughly engrossing story of yet another struggle for independence and freedom—a struggle which, it seems, is as perpetual as the phases of the moon.

JAMES BERNARD KELLEY

THE WORD

IT IS GLORIOUS, WHAT CHRIST has done to death—he has done it to death.

He has killed it with His Cross, as with a sword.

Death, which was always the end of the story, has become in Christian minds something more like an incident.

I see this in the children's play. I watch them playing cowboys or soldiers, and I notice that they die—or pretend to die—gaily.

Then I am back in my own boyhood, when I lived in imagination among the early martyrs, and among the Knights of King Arthur's court.

My mother used to read to me, and I would walk singing into the arena with the saints, looking up at the baffled face of Nero.

Or I would ride gallantly with Sir Galahad; and my strength would be as the strength of ten because my heart was pure.

I cannot look at a crucifix without thinking that Christ was knightly—or is it that the knights were somehow Christlike? They, too, often gave their lives for justice and charity.

Of Christ—may I call Him Sir Christ?—it is said in the Mass for Ascension Day: "Ascending on high, He has led captivity captive."

All things were topsy-turvy, and He has set them upright. Now death is not an ending, but a beginning.

In my boyhood, Mother read to me, and talked to me. But I never really understood her until she died.

She went about the business of dying as if she were preparing a meal.

She said that she was in agony, but she said it as an item of news, as if she were giving us bulletins as she advanced toward the goal which she had set herself in girlhood.

Never once did she look back over her shoulder. She had no regrets. She was neither surprised nor afraid.

This dying was something to which she had long looked forward, not with pleasure, but as a man might look forward to the painful operation which is to relieve him of suffering and restore his strength.

"God is ascended with jubilee, and the Lord with the sound of a trumpet, allelluia." So sings the Offertory for the Sunday after the Ascension.

Such was the spirit with which my mother approached death. She smiled, she said God be with you, she said Until We Meet Again.

I am sure that some folks wondered why we seemed so happy at Mother's funeral. It was because we knew she was inexpressibly happier.

JOSEPH A. BREIG

FII.MS

QUARTET. Following on the heels of Hamlet and Red Shoes, which reaped quite a startling financial reward in addition to critical acclaim, came an avalanche of British pictures of uncertain merit and such a predictably dismal future at the American box-office that it did not seem profitable or even possible to review them all. With Quartet, composed of four separately dramatized short stories of Somerset Maugham, J. Arthur Rank's organization has again hit the art-theatre jackpot. The key to the firm's success probably lies in the high standard of intelligence maintained in both material and treatment. On the other hand, the film certainly suffers from a tendency to be more literary than cinematic, with a resultant lack of emotional appeal. The Facts of Life, which is nothing more than an after-dinner anecdote (considerably less risqué than the title might indicate) fares the best. It has some excellent British character comedy and the relaxed high spirits of a story which does not pretend to have

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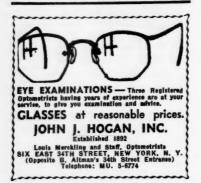
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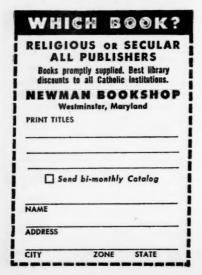
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any significance whatsoever. In a more serious vein Alien Corn, a tragedy of frustrated musical ambition, fails to come to life except in a subsidiary performance by Françoise Rosay and in its use of concert music as part of the plot. There is plenty of vitality and psychological insight in The Kiteabout a man who enthroned his hobby above everything else in life-but about as much warmth as a social-worker's report. The Colonel's Lady, the most elaborate of the four, has pretensions to social satire. A stuffy and fatuous country squire, who has affronted his meek wife by taking a mistress, finds the shoe on the other foot when the wife produces a best-seller about an illicit romance which has every indication of being autobiographical. The satire, while sharply amusing at times, is not strong enough to disinfect some of the situations, and Cecil Parker's characterization tends to burlesque both his early pomposity and the sentiment of the bitter-sweet ending. Maugham himself, who appears in a brief preface, proves more easily adaptable to the screen medium than do the stories he introduces. (Eagle-Lion)

ONE WOMAN'S STORY boasts an impressive set of screen credits: David Lean, Ronald Neame and Guy Green, the rhyming trio who were respectively the director, producer and photographer of Great Expectations; screen play by Eric Ambler from a novel by H. G. Wells; and a cast headed by Ann Todd, Claude Rains and Trevor Howard. This array of talent has been mustered to tell the frail story of a monumentally indecisive lady. The beautiful and selfcentered heroine marries an international banker for security rather than a struggling biologist for love. Attractively gowned as befits her station, and possibly also possessing the secret of eternal youth (the picture covers fifteen years without perceptibly changing her appearance), she spends her time meditating, with considerable prompting from the two gentlemen, on the wisdom of her choice. After ninety minutes of conversation unsullied by anything remotely resembling action or, more surprisingly, consistent characterization, she takes up a presumably permanent position at her husband's side more from force of circumstances than any decision on her part. I had better add that since the film's moral standards were shaky at best, I would probably have been equally outraged for a different set of reasons, had it broken away from surface glamour and come to grips with the problem at hand. (Universal-International)

THE GUINEA PIG. The British experiment in democratizing its public schools by granting scholarships to lower-class

youths, which forms the basis for this story, probably has far-reaching social implications which will be lost on American audiences. Social import aside, it is a pleasant, leisurely family film, which manages by dint of good characterization and a genius for understatement to pulverize the obstacles to a happy ending with suspicious ease without seeming mawkish. (Pilgrim Pictures)

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THEATRE

FOLIO '48-49. Conning the dope sheet that heralds the approach of productions heading for New York, the theatrical capital of the nation, I observe that July 7 is the scheduled date of the next Broadway opening. Although May 31 is the traditional end of the theatrical year, and the file must remain open until that date, the season actually closed on the 14th of the month, when Gayden expired after seven performances.

Fifteen of the season's new productions will survive the May 31 terminus of the stage year, going into their second season with a good chance of reaching their third. Best of the survivors is the Rodgers-Hammerstein South Pacific, a music drama that challenges the long ascendancy of Show Boat in that field. The production has humor, melody, spirited dancing and all the ingredients required for making superbentertainment, with a bonus of moral reflection. The show was promptly and properly awarded the Critics' Circle prize for the best musical of the season.

Second best of surviving productions is The Mad Woman of Chaillot, a satire imported from France. There is delicious humor in the play, vagrant fantasy and amusing whimsy, and a suggestion that the modern world would be better off if it could be rescued from the foreign offices, the Kremlin and Wall Street, while vagabonds, eccentric characters and insane people assumed the places of power. The Critics' Circle gave The Mad Woman the prize for the best foreign play of the year.

City of Kings, a Blackfriars production, is third best of the season, nosing out Anne of the Thousand Days, another chronicle play. The Silver Whistle, a Theatre Guild offering, is a delectable comedy, and At War with the Army is a hilarious farce. The departed season left us memories of at least one outstanding production in each major field of dramatic effort—including, of course, Death of a Salesman. In Along Fifth Avenue, Nancy Walker is good but not up to her best.

The season also deserves credit for some fine failures. Judged by esthetic standards alone, Magdalena was the top production of the year. A music drama imported from Brazil, the show was Catholic in spirit, but somehow failed to attract its natural audience. Love Life, a musical based on the disintegration of the family in the modern world, and Set My People Free, another Theatre Guild play, deserved more success than either enjoyed. Two revivals-Richard Whorf's Richard III and They Knew What They Wanted, with Paul Muni starred in the leading role of the latter-did not lower the artistic or moral tone of the season.

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Since no man's opinion is infallible, the productions mentioned in preceding paragraphs may not be the best of the year. It happens, however, that they are the ones I liked best.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

PARADE

STEADILY THROUGHOUT THE week, social geysers shot forth sprays of joy and of gloom. . . . As the emotionbearing spray fell on the human scene, rivulets of joy and of gloom formed and flowed through the milieu side by side. . Manifested were the sunnier aspects of international relationships. . . . In Chicago a milkman fell heir to a halfmillion-dollar Danish estate. . . . In Indianapolis a mortician became the tenth baronet of Glorat in Scotland. Commenting on his new title, the mortician declared: "They'll have to send it over here. I won't leave Indiana." . . .

Domestic circles witnessed joyous reunions. . . . In Tennessee, a young mother was paroled, allowed to rejoin her family. Previously associated with a bank-robbing enterprise, she promised the parole board to keep out of banks. . . . In London a husband, who had stomped out of his wife's life in 1923 following a quarrel, sheepishly re-entered it last week. Neither husband nor wife could recall what the quarrel was about. . . . Dedications were staged. . . . In a Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Chamber of Commerce ceremony, a 1400-foot ridge was named Mount Palooka in honor of Joe. A stone head of Palooka will adorn the mountain within a year, committee men said. . . . Windfalls were taken in stride. . . . In New Jersey a seventy-seven-year-old street sweeper, who inherited \$20,000, disclosed he would continue pushing his broom. "The fresh air is good for me, so is the exercise," he declared.

Men of distinction were honored. . . . In Ohio a lady smile-expert placed both Truman and Taft in her list of the ten top smilers. Analyzing the Taft smile, she said: "It is a boyish smile, the type that would bring radiant happiness to any home." While exploring the motives that cause women to leave home, she expressed the view that the smileless, poker faces of husbands make escapists of wives and drive them to the pleasanter atmosphere of the bridge and gin-rummy tables. . . .

Leering through the social milieu were also rivulets of gloom. . . . In Washington a young man turned in a fire alarm when his sister became ill. Eight fire engines rushed to the sick girl. Exclaiming that this was not the way to take care of an ailing relative, a judge fined the youth fifty dollars. . . . Deferred hopes begot heartache. Revealing that he never felt lonely while behind bars, a San Diego, Calif., former convict declared he wanted to spend the rest of his life in jail. To that end, he wrote his former warden asking that he be made a trusty for life, with

one afternoon off each week for shopping. The warden rebuffed him. . . . Legacies diffused gloom. . . . In Chicago a bitter seventy-year-old dishwasher complained that his \$13,000 inheritance ruined his career. He explained: "I wanted to keep on washing dishes, but after the legacy became known I could not get another dishwashing job, employers saying I'd be in the public eye and people would be coming in trying to sell me things."

The streams of earthly joy and gloom are mere miniature models of what they become on the other side of the Great Divide. . . . The vastness of this development eludes the human mind. . . . The trickle of joy becomes a boundless ocean of electrifying bliss, while the other trickle ends up a sea of unspeakable horror. . . . And no longer are the two side by side. . . . An unbridgable distance separates them. . . . All this goes on across the Great Divide. . . . On this side, the rivulets of joy and of gloom flow through the earthly scene. side by side. JOHN A. TOOMEY

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Catholic Negroes in the South

EDITOR: Like many other Southerners, I feel very strongly in favor of equal rights for the Negro. We appreciate your viewpoint, and the viewpoint of the clergy and editors who are doing their part for furtherance of equality, but I do not think that the churches, as a whole, are doing enough for the Negro, at least not in the South.

A Negro who becomes a convert to Catholicism in the South deserves more credit and understanding than is given him. The whole social scheme of the Protestant Negro centers around his church, and the average Negro knows no other social contacts than those he makes through his religious acquaintances and through the clubs connected with his church. Now, when a Negro becomes a Catholic in a town such as ours, or when a Catholic Negro comes to live here, he is wholly isolated from any social or religious contacts other than attending Mass. And while we know that hearing Mass is the greatest privilege of all, we also know the limitations of knowledge and the frailties of human nature, and realize that being isolated from one's kind makes one a very lonesome person.

In this town, which is a fair example of most Southern cities, there are only two Catholic churches. One church has one Negro member, a very quiet gentleman who sits in the back pew. Aside from having a few persons speak to him, he goes his lonely way, and whatever social life he has is not centered around the church or even near it.

The other parish has about twenty Negro members, both young and old, and several children, who do not attend the Catholic school. If these children were white, their parents would be regarded as gravely delinquent unless they had a good reason for not sending their children to a Catholic school.

These colored people sit where they like in the church, though I do know one family who very sweetly told a colored girl who was sitting in their pew that there was a reserved section in the rear for colored. This is not so, and never has been to my knowledge. The incident is no reflection on the pastor—just a bad reflection on the individual member. It is an incident of the kind cited in the report on segregation in Washington (Am. 1/1/49)—when the Panamanian was told by a church member (not the pastor) to go to the colored church.

The Catholic Negro in the South (I do not know about those in the North) is not asked to belong to the church organizations, unless they have colored organizations in the colored churches. But the few isolated Negroes in white parishes could not be asked, because it would not only be embarrassing, but

CORRESPONDENCE

impossible, for the members to go to the leading restaurants for luncheon. Then, too, there are very few Catholics who would really want a Negro in their homes for a meeting. Still, I think if the pastors and the bishops gave a strong lead, after the example of the Archbishop of St. Louis, they would find that there were white people who were more than willing to start the ball rolling in combating racial intolerance in the one place it should not exist-the Catholic Church. I think it is time that the Negro Catholic got as much out of his religion as the white Catholic does. The present situation gives the Negro ample opportunity to develop the virtue of humility-a virtue we whites lack as long as we keep up our present treatment of the Negro.

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Quebec's asbestos strike

EDITOR: In your Correspondence, April 23, appears a letter from Lewis H. Brown, Chairman of the Board of the Johns-Manville Corporation, about the asbestos strike in Canada. Since I have followed this strike pretty closely, there are a few questions which Mr. Brown's letter raises for me.

1. What are Mr. Brown's criteria of "good" and "bad" industrial relations? I have always thought that a strike was an effect, not a cause. If a strike occurs, there is clearly something wrong. Mr. Brown seems to imply that prior to twelve years ago relations at Johns-Manville were not so good. How have they changed in the interval for better or worse?

2. As to the unions dropping the word "Catholic" from their names, it seems to me that since 1933 the Canadian Catholic Workers' Federation (CTCC) has left the locals free to use the title "Catholic" or not. Haven't many other unions dropped it, and yet they enjoy good industrial relations with employers—in the aluminum industry, for instance?

3. M. Picard, President of the CTCC, has recently summarized the demands of the unions under four heads:
a) an increase in wages of 15c an hour;
b) protection against dust; c) security funds; d) the Rand formula.

I find it hard to understand that during the process of negotiations and conciliation the company refused the increase in wages, yet some weeks after the beginning of the strike was in a position to offer a 10c increase to strikers who would return to work. Why

was this offer not made to the union earlier? This scarcely seems like "negotiating in good faith." It does not indicate any great anxiety to come to terms with the union.

If the Company is actually doing all it can to eliminate dust and combat amiantosis, what objection can there be to confirming in a contract the existing policy? The same would apply to the question of a security fund. Hasn't the refusal to include these in the contract some appearance of paternalism?

As to the Rand formula. This requires that workers who benefit from the contract obtained by the union shall pay the union a sum equal to the dues. I do not see how that can conflict with the prerogatives of the employer—or is there some other reason for opposing it? Just how did the union try to invade the province of management? Certainly not by these demands. Why not concede them, and put an end to the strike?

4. Regarding the position of the Church, I believe that its teaching in Quebec is the same as elsewhere. While the Church considers that a strike is an evil, it nevertheless concedes that in certain circumstances it may be just, or even necessary.

While it is true that Msgr. LeClaire's statement does not touch upon the morality of this strike, yet, if it were manifestly unjust, would he not, instead of recommending collections for the families of the strikers, simply have advised them to go back to work, and thus put an end to the hardships caused by the strike?

6. Finally, regarding Mr. Brown's statement that "Those Church representatives who support the strikers are decidedly in a minority." In matters like this, it seems to me that the question is not one of a majority or a minority, but of the standing and official character of those who make a pronouncement.

Now I believe that all the moral counselors (chaplains) of the Catholic unions, without exception, support the strikers. And not one has been removed from his position by his bishop. Does Mr. Brown know of any bishop who has spoken in a sense unfavorable to the strikers? In matters so complex, such unanimity is exceptional.

FERNAND JOLICOEUR
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